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THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

VOL. XLII.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Hiſtory of Ireland, during a long period, conſiſting of one continued inſurrection, ſeldom diverſified, it neither required nor admitted of Marginal Notes ſo uniformly as the preceding Volumes of the Work. Where ſuch Notes, therefore, appear leſs frequently than uſual, the intervals are to be imputed to the ſimilarity of the ſubject.

SUPPLEMENT.

THE

HISTORY

OF

IRELAND.

THE HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CHAP. I.

From the earliest authentic Accounts of Ireland to the Accession of Edward III.

THE Irish, more than the inhabitants of any other nation, appear to be zealous for the antiquity of their country, and pretend to trace their origin from the ages almost immediately subsequent to the deluge. According to their traditions, the first inhabitants of that island came from Spain; though the more probable accounts are, that it was originally peopled from Britain. But whether from one or the other, and at whatever period, it is certain, that the Irish history, before the reign of Henry II. of England, is involved in fable and perplexity; and with that epoch, therefore, in conformity to the most judicious of the Irish Historians, we shall begin the present work.

The small principalities, into which Ireland was anciently divided, exercised perpetual rapine and violence,

Ancient ſtate of Ireland.

againſt each other; the uncertain ſucceſſion of their princes was a continual ſource of domeſtic convulſions; the uſual title of each petty ſovereign was the murder of his predeceſſor; courage and force, though exerciſed in the commiſſion of crimes, were more honoured than any pacific virtues; and the moſt ſimple arts of life, even that of agriculture, were almoſt wholly unknown among them. They had experienced the invaſions of the Danes and the other northern tribes; but theſe inroads, which had ſpread barbariſm in other parts of Europe, tended rather to improve the Iriſh; and the only towns, which were to be found in the iſland, had been planted along the coaſt by the freebooters of Norway and Denmark. The other inhabitants exerciſed paſturage in the open country; fought, in their foreſts and moraſſes, for protection from any danger; and being divided by the fierceſt animoſities againſt each other, were ſtill more intent on the means of mutual injury, than on the expedients for common or even for private intereſt.

Beſide many ſmall tribes, there were in the age of Henry II. five principal ſovereignties in the iſland. Theſe were Munſter, Leinſter, Meath, Ulſter, and Connaught; and as it had been uſual for one or the other of theſe to take the lead in their wars, there was commonly ſome prince, who ſeemed, for the time, to act as monarch of Ireland. Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, was then advanced to this dignity; but his government, ill obeyed even within his own territory, could not unite the people in any meaſures, either for the eſtabliſhment of order, or for defence againſt foreigners. The ambition of Henry had, very early in his reign, been moved, by the proſpect of thoſe advantages, to attempt the ſubjecting of Ireland; and a pretence was only wanting to invade a people, who, being always confined to their own iſland, had never given any reaſon of complaint to any of their neighbours. For this purpoſe, he had recourſe to Rome, which aſſumed a right to diſpoſe of kingdoms and empires; and not foreſeeing the dangerous diſputes, which he was one day to maintain with that ſee, he contributed, for preſent, or rather for an imaginary, convenience, to give ſanction to claims which were now become dangerous to all ſovereigns. Adrian III. who then filled the papal chair, was by birth an Engliſhman; and being, on that account, the more diſpoſed to oblige Henry, he was eaſily perſuaded to make, without any hazard or expence, the acquiſition of a great iſland to his

ſpiritual

spiritual jurisdiction a. The Irish had, by preceding missionaries from the Britons, been imperfectly converted to Christianity; and, what the pope regarded as the surest mark of their imperfect conversion, they followed the doctrines of their first teachers, and had never acknowleged any subjection to the see of Rome. Adrian, therefore, in the year 1156, issued a bull in favour of Henry; in which, after premising, that this prince had ever shown an anxious care to enlarge the church of God on earth, and to increase the number of his saints and elect in heaven; he represents his design of subduing Ireland as derived from the same pious motives: he considers Henry's care of previously applying for the apostolic sanction as a sure earnest of success and victory; and having established it as a point incontestible, that all Christian kingdoms belong to the patrimony of St. Peter, he acknowleges it to be his own duty to sow among them the seeds of the Gospel: he exhorts the king to invade Ireland, in order to extirpate the vice and wickedness of the natives, and oblige them to pay yearly, from every house, a penny to the see of Rome: he gives him entire right and authority over the island, and commands all the inhabitants to obey him as their sovereign. Henry, though armed with this authority, did not immediately put his design in execution; but being detained by more interesting business on the continent, waited for a favourable opportunity of invading Ireland.

A.D. 1156.

The pope grants Henry II. a bull for subduing Ireland.

Dermot Macmorrogh, king of Leinster, had, by his licentious tyranny, rendered himself odious to his subjects, who seized with alacrity the first occasion that offered, of throwing off the yoke, which they found to be extremely oppressive. This prince had formed a design on Dovergilda, wife of Ororic, prince of Bressiny; and taking advantage of her husband's absence, who, being obliged to visit a distant part of his territory, had left his wife secure, as he thought, in an island, surrounded by a bog, he suddenly invaded the place, and carried off the princess. This exploit provoked the resentment of the husband; who having collected forces, and being strengthened by the alliance of Roderic, king of Connaught, invaded the dominions of Dermot, and expelled him his kingdom. The exiled prince had recourse to Henry, who was at this time in Guienne, craved his assistance in restoring him to his sovereignty, and offered,

a Brompton, Neubrig.

on that event, to hold his kingdom in vaſſalage under the crown of England [b]. Henry, whoſe views were already turned towards making acquiſitions in Ireland, readily accepted the offer; but being at that time embarraſſed by the rebellions of his French ſubjects, as well as by his diſputes with the ſee of Rome, he declined, for the preſent, embarking in the enterprize, and gave Dermot no farther aſſiſtance than letters-patent, by which he empowered all his ſubjects to aid the Iriſh prince in the recovery of his dominions [c]. Dermot, ſupported by this authority, came to Briſtol; and, after endeavouring, though for ſome time in vain, to engage adventurers in the enterprize, he at laſt formed a treaty with Richard, ſurnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul. This nobleman, who was of the houſe of Clare, had impaired his fortune by expenſive pleaſures; and being ready for any deſparate undertaking, he promiſed aſſiſtance to Dermot, on condition that he ſhould eſpouſe Eva, daughter of that prince, and be declared heir to all his dominions. While Richard was aſſembling his ſuccours, Dermot went into Wales; and meeting with Robert Fitz-Stephens, conſtable of Abertivi, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, he alſo engaged them in his ſervice, and obtained their promiſe of invading Ireland. Being now aſſured of ſuccour, he returned privately to his own ſtate; and lurking in the monaſtery of Fernes, which he had founded, waited impatiently for the return of ſpring,
A D 1169 when the Engliſh auxiliaries were to arrive. The intelligence was induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, and ſerved to animate his adherents. As the ſecret of his return could not be long concealed, he aſſumed the appearance of the utmoſt confidence; and marching at the head of his adherents, poſſeſſed himſelf of a part of his dominions called Hi-Kenſelah. Yet ſecretly tormented by delay, and dreading a diſappointment, he diſpatched a meſſenger to England, to haſten the promiſed ſuccours, and to ſollicit others, with an aſſurance of rich ſettlements and large rewards to all adventurers.

Conqueſt of Ireland. Fitz-Stephen, whoſe troops were firſt ready, landed in Ireland with thirty knights, ſixty eſquires, and three hundred archers; and this ſmall body, being brave men, not unacquainted with diſcipline, and completely armed, a thing almoſt unknown in Ireland, ſtruck a great terror into the barbarous inhabitants. The conjunction of Maurice de Pendergaſt, who, about the ſame time, brought

[b] Girald. Camb. [c] Ibid.

over

over ten knight and ſixty archers, enabled Fitz-Stephen to attempt the ſiege of Wexford, a town inhabited by the Danes; and, after gaining an advantage, he made himſelf maſter of the place. Soon after, Fitz-Gerald arrived with ten knights, thirty eſquires, and a hundred archers; and being joined by the former adventurers, compoſed a force which nothing in Ireland was able to withſtand. Roderic, the chief monarch of the iſland, was defeated in ſeveral actions; the prince of Offory was obliged to ſubmit, and give hoſtages for his peaceable behaviour; and Dermot, not content with being reſtored to his kingdom of Leinſter, projected the dethroning of Roderic, and aſpired to the ſole dominion over the Iriſh.

In proſecution of theſe views, he ſent over to the earl of Strigul a meſſenger, challenging the performance of his promiſe, and diſplaying the mighty advantages which might now be reaped by a reinforcement of warlike troops from England. Richard, not ſatisfied with the general allowance given by Henry to all his ſubjects, went to that prince, then in Normandy; and having obtained a cold or ambiguous permiſſion, prepared for the execution of his deſigns. He firſt ſent over Raymond, one of his retinue, with ten knights and ſeventy archers, who, landing near Waterford, defeated a body of three thouſand Iriſh, that had ventured to attack him; and as Richard himſelf, who brought over two hundred horſe, and a body of archers, joined, a few days after, the victorious Engliſh, they made themſelves maſters of Waterford, and proceeded to Dublin, which was taken by aſſault. Roderic, in revenge, cut off the head of Dermot's natural ſon, who had been left as a hoſtage in his hands; and Richard, marrying Eva, became ſoon after, by the death of Dermot, maſter of the kingdom of Leinſter, and prepared to extend his authority over Ireland. Roderic, and the other Iriſh princes, were alarmed at the danger; and combining together, beſieged Dublin with an army of thirty thouſand men. But earl Richard, making a ſally at the head of ninety knights, with their followers, put this numerous army to rout, chaſed them off the field, and purſued them with great ſlaughter [d].

Henry, jealous of the progreſs made by his own ſubjects, ſent orders to recall all the Engliſh, and he made preparations to attack Ireland in perſon [e]. But Richard, and the other adventurers, found means to appeaſe him,

[d] Girald. Camb. [e] Regan.

by making him the most humble submissions, and offering to hold all their acquisitions in vassalage to his crown. A.D.1172. That monarch landed in Ireland at the head of five hundred knights, besides other soldiers: he found the Irish so dispirited by their late misfortunes, that, in a progress which he made through the island, he had no other occupation than to receive the homages of his new subjects. He left most of the Irish chieftains or princes in possession of their ancient territories; bestowed some lands on the English adventurers; gave earl Richard the commission of seneschal of Ireland; and, after a stay of a few months, returned in triumph to England. By these exploits, important only in their consequences, was Ireland annexed to the English crown.

Henry lands in Ireland.

He settles the government of the country.

For the better execution of the laws of England, it appears that Henry made a division of the districts, now subject to him, into shires or counties, which was afterwards enlarged, as the extension of the English settlements, and the circumstances of the country, required. Sheriffs were appointed both for the counties and cities, with judges itinerant, and other ministers of justice, and officers of state. To complete the system, a chief governor, or representative of the king, was appointed.

Notwithstanding the submissions which Henry had received in all parts of Ireland, he left not in that country one true subject more than he found on coming over. The Irish chieftains, who had so readily submitted to become his vassals, were little scrupulous of adhering to their engagements any longer than necessity might oblige them. But as the impression made by the power and greatness of their new sovereign was yet lively and forcible; as their intestine feuds and jealousies had never been suspended; and as the English settlers had not as yet discovered any design of extending their acquisitions, the territories of the new adventurers were for a while unmolested, and seemed to wear the appearance of security. Strongbow found himself at leisure to retire to Fernes, in order to solemnize the marriage of his daughter with Robert de Quiny, one of the nobles who had engaged in the Irish war, whom he created constable and standard-bearer of Leinster, with a considerable grant of lands. But Quiny did not long enjoy his honours and estate; for the earl, some time after, being obliged to march into Ofally, to exact his tribute from a refractory vassal, his forces, on their return, were attacked in the rear, and

the

the ſtandard-bearer with ſome others fell in the firſt aſſault.

Lacy, in conſequence of his late grant, proceeded to make ſuch diſpoſitions in Meath as might ſecure the ſubjection of this diſtrict. He parcelled out his lands to his friends and adherents, in order to eſtabliſh a powerful Engliſh ſettlement, and began to erect forts to keep the old inhabitants in awe. In the provinces ceded to Henry or his ſubjects, or afterwards gained by their arms, certain Iriſh natives, of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families, were ſuffered to reſide and enjoy certain portions of their old poſſeſſions, for which they were to pay tribute to the crown, but were not as ſubjects governed by the law of England. Between thoſe and the Engliſh ſettlers, diſputes frequently broke forth; and every day produced complaints of the injuſtice, cruelty, and oppreſſion of the latter, wherever they had any intercourſe with the natives. In many inſtances, ſuch complaints muſt have been juſt; for ſeveral of the Engliſh leaders were proud, indigent, and rapacious; but whether juſt or not, at the ſame time that they diſcovered the enmity of the Iriſh, they ſerved to confirm and inflame it.

The Iriſh chieftains received with joy the accounts of a powerful confederacy being formed againſt Henry; and no ſooner had earl Richard and the other Engliſh lords departed, than they openly diſavowed their late ſubmiſſions, and boldly denounced vengeance againſt the invaders. The Engliſh army was not only weakened, but mutinous. It had been entruſted to the command of Hervey of Mountmorres, to whom Raymond le Groſs was ſecond in authority; and theſe leaders were by no means united with that firmneſs and cordiality which their common intereſt required. Their mutual jealouſies prevented any effectual oppoſition to the ſpirit now raiſed among the Iriſh chieftains, and might have proved fatal to the Engliſh intereſt, had not Henry been ſoon enabled to provide a remedy for the evil. He ſummoned earl Strongbow to attend him at Rouen, and communicated his intentions of committing the affairs of Ireland to his ſole direction. The earl expreſſed the utmoſt alacrity to ſerve his royal maſter; but obſerved, that he had already experienced the envy and malignity of his ſecret enemies, and that, if he ſhould appear in ſo diſtinguiſhed a character as that of the king's deputy in Ireland, their inſidious practices would be renewed, and his conduct miſrepreſented. He therefore requeſted, that a colleague might

be joined with him in the commiſſion, and for this purpoſe recommended Raymond, as a perſon of approved loyalty and abilities, as well as highly acceptable to the ſoldiery. Henry replied, that he had his free conſent to employ Raymond in any ſervice he ſhould deem neceſſary, not as a colleague, but an aſſiſtant; that he relied entirely on the earl, and entruſted every thing to his direction. To reward his ſervices, and enliven his zeal, he granted him the town of Wexford, with a fort erected at Wicklow, and thus diſmiſſed him with the moſt gracious expreſſions of favour.

The earl immediately returned to Dublin, where he was received with the reſpect due to his royal commiſſion. He ſignified the king's pleaſure that Robert Fitz-Bernard, with the garriſon of Waterford, ſhould inſtantly embark, and repair to Normandy; and that Robert Fitz-Stephen, and Maurice de Pendergaſt, ſhould attend the king's ſervice in England; whither alſo Hugh de Lacy, and Milo de Cogan, were commanded to repair. While the forces which were to ſupport the government of earl Strongbow were thus conſiderably weakened, their diſcontents were inflamed to the utmoſt, and he had the mortification to hear the boldeſt remonſtrances againſt the conduct of his uncle Mountmorres. The ſoldiers preſented themſelves in a body before the earl, requiring that Raymond le Groſs ſhould be appointed to command them; if not, they threatened to return to their native country, or to engage in the ſervice of the Iriſh chiefs, who were now in arms, and ready for hoſtilities. Strongbow found himſelf under a neceſſity of complying with their demands; and not only granted them their favourite general, but engaged them in ſome expeditions which might afford plunder, as he had improvidently diſſipated the money aſſigned for their pay. Raymond being therefore employed to chaſtiſe the defection of ſome petty lords of this diſtrict, over-ran and ravaged the country without reſiſtance; and proceeding with his booty to Liſmore, committed the like depredations in that city and the adjacent lands. On his return by the ſea-ſide, he found ſome veſſels at anchor, which he directed to be laden with the ſpoil, in order to convey it to the town of Waterford. The wind was for ſome time contrary, which encouraged the men of Corke, who had received intelligence of thoſe tranſactions, to form the deſign of deſtroying this little fleet of tranſports. The neceſſities of Henry having obliged him to withdraw the Engliſh garriſon from this city, it had been re-taken by

Macarthy

Macarthy of Deſmond; and now the inhabitants, to manifeſt their zeal againſt his enemies, haſtily fitted out thirty barks, and fell with the utmoſt fury upon the Engliſh detachment, which had not yet weighed anchor. Their aſſault, though unexpected, was ſuſtained with ſpirit; and the death of their commander, who fell by the arm of a gallant Welchman, ſoon decided the conteſt in favour of the Engliſh. They took eight veſſels from the enemy, and ſailed in triumph to their place of deſtination. Raymond had been informed of this action, and was haſtening to the ſupport of his party with a ſelect body of twenty knights and ſixty horſemen, when he ſuddenly found himſelf encountered by the prince of Deſmond, who on his part was no leſs ſolicitous to ſupport his vaſſals of Corke. The Iriſh chief, however, was ſoon obliged to retire; and Raymond, after ſome inconſiderable attempts to diſturb him in his march, and to ſeize his prey, entered Waterford in all the triumph of a conqueror.

Trivial as theſe exploits were, they ſerved to confirm the opinion which the ſoldiery had conceived of their new general, and filled them with hopes of more important ſucceſſes. Raymond himſelf appears to have entertained no indifferent opinion of his own ſervices. He was now in the height of popularity, and determined to avail himſelf of this advantage. He had conceived a paſſion for Baſilia, ſiſter to earl Richard, and took the preſent occaſion to demand her in marriage, with the poſt of conſtable, and ſtandard-bearer of Leinſter, during the minority of Robert de Quiny, the late ſon-in-law of Strongbow. The earl, probably from a jealouſy of the riſing power and influence of this lord, received his overture with a coldneſs which marked his diſapprobation. Raymond, provoked, and mortified, retired abruptly into Wales, under pretence of taking poſſeſſion of ſome lands devolved to him by the death of his father; and the army was once more entruſted to the command of Hervey of Montmorres[f].

Hervey, on reſuming his ſtation, determined to engage in ſome brave enterprize, which might regain him the affections of the ſoldiery, and emulate the ſucceſs of their former general. He repreſented to earl Strongbow the neceſſity of repreſſing that ſpirit of revolt which had appeared among the Iriſh princes; and as the diſpoſitions lately made in Meath ſeemed to have eſtabliſhed an effectual barrier againſt the king of Connaught, he adviſed him

[f] Ibid.

to

to bend his whole force againſt the inſurgents of Munſter, and by chaſtiſing their revolt, to ſtrike terror into thoſe who were meditating to follow their example. The earl readily yielded to the propoſal, and in conjunction with Mountmorres, led a conſiderable body of forces to the city of Caſhel. On receiving information of the poſture, and numbers of the enemy, Hervey prevailed upon him to diſpatch his orders to Dublin, that a conſiderable party of the garriſon, conſiſting of Oſtmen, who had engaged in the ſervice of the Engliſh, ſhould inſtantly join their main body. As this detachment advanced, the fame of its motions ſpread through the country, and reached the quarters of the enemy. O'Brien of Thomond, a valiant and ſagacious chieftain, and implacably averſe to the Engliſh intereſts, conceived the deſign of cutting off this body: he ſuffered the Oſtmen to advance as far as Thurles, and there to encamp in a ſtate of careleſs ſecurity; after which, falling ſuddenly upon them, he killed four hundred of the detachment, with their four principal commanders. Richard, on receiving intelligence of this diſaſter, retired into Waterford with great precipitation.

This incident ſerved as a ſignal to the diſaffected Iriſh to riſe up in arms. Several of the Leinſter chieftains, who had lately made their ſubmiſſions, openly diſclaimed all their engagements with Henry. Even Donald Cavanagh, ſon of the late king Dermot, who had hitherto adhered to the Engliſh, now declared againſt them, and aſſerted a title to the kingdom of Leinſter; while Roderic, on his part, was active in uniting the princes of Ulſter, the native lords of Meath, and other chiefs, againſt their common enemy.

Strongbow was well acquainted with the fickleneſs of the Iriſh; and juſtly ſenſible of the conſequences of being reduced to act on the defenſive, inſtead of ſeeking his enemies in their own territories: he had alſo reaſon to apprehend a mutiny of his own ſoldiers. He therefore immediately ſent into Wales, intreating Raymond to return, with ſuch forces as he could procure, and freely offering to gratify him in his late demands. Nothing could be more flattering to Raymoud than this application; and he accordingly made his preparations with the utmoſt alacrity. Collecting thirty leaders of his own kindred, one hundred horſemen, and three hundred archers, all hardy and well appointed, he embarked in twenty tranſports, and ſteered his courſe to Waterford.

His arrival was extremely critical. The townſmen, naturally averſe to the Engliſh invaders, and farther provoked by their oppreſſions, are ſaid to have formed the deſperate reſolution of freeing themſelves from their maſters by a general maſſacre; but at the very moment of execution, Raymond's fleet appeared in the harbour, and ſuſpended the attempt. At the firſt interview between Raymond and earl Richard, it was agreed to march without delay to Wexford, in order to check the ſpirit of rebellion, which had broke forth in Leinſter. The garriſon left at Waterford, little ſuſpecting any conſpiracy within the walls, acted with the confidence of men ſurrounded with their friends and adherents, and thus favoured the deſigns of their ſecret enemies. Their commander croſſing the Sure in a ſmall bark, was, with his few attendants, murdered by the mariners; and no ſooner had the news of this maſſacre reached the town, than all the Engliſh who could be found unarmed, were ſuddenly aſſailed, and ſlaughtered without diſtinction of age, ſex, or condition. Thoſe of the garriſon, who had opportunity to take arms, joined their aſſociates in the citadel, where they not only defended themſelves, but ſo much annoyed the beſiegers, as to drive them from the city, and reduce them to ſue for peace with the moſt abject ſubmiſſion [g].

Meanwhile Wexford was a ſcene of joy and feſtivity. Baſilia had arrived there with a magnificent train from Dublin, and was ſolemnly eſpouſed by Raymond, who received a large portion of lands as her dowry, and was inveſted with the office of conſtable, and ſtandard-bearer of Leinſter. But in the midſt of the nuptial rites, intelligence arrived, that Roderic, at the head of a numerous body of troops, had ſuddenly paſſed the Shannon, entered the territory of Meath, expelled the Engliſh coloniſts, laid waſte their ſettlements, obliged Tyrrel, who then commanded in that province, to abandon the forts lately erected, and burned them to the ground. The occaſion was too preſſing to admit of the leaſt delay; ſo that, the very morning after the celebration of his nuptials, the bridegroom was obliged to put on his armour. He led his troops to Dublin, determined to ſeek the inſurgents; but the Iriſh chieftains were contented with the devaſtation committed in Meath, and by no means inclined to continue their hoſtilities. Roderic found himſelf obliged to retreat into his own province, and leave the enemy to re-

[g] Grat. Luc.

pair

pair the havock he had made. The earl of Raymond arrived time enough to precipitate the flight of ſome of the Iriſh parties, by falling on their rear, and killing one hundred and fifty.

This ſucceſs, with the death of Donald Cavanah, who had been killed in an engagement with a party of his countrymen in the Engliſh ſervice, awed the ſpirit of diſaffection in Leinſter, and eſtabliſhed an appearance of tranquillity through the Engliſh territories, ſo as to leave earl Richard at leiſure to attend to the affairs of Munſter, where the prince of Thomond had poſſeſſed himſelf of Limerick, and continued to bid defiance to the Engliſh power. The ſiege of this place was undertaken by Raymond, who, with a choſen body of ſix hundred, marched againſt the revolted chieftain. They arrived without oppoſition at the banks of the Shannon, which ſurrounds this city; but the bridges here being broken, and the ſtream very rapid, their progreſs was ſtopped. Two of their boldeſt knights, however, ventured to paſs where they conceived the river to be fordable, and with ſucceſs; but returning to encourage and conduct their aſſociates, one of them was drowned: a third paſſed ſafely, but found himſelf unſupported, and expoſed to the enemy. At laſt Raymond, advancing from the rear, ſpurred boldly through the river; and his forces, thus encouraged, followed their leader without farther heſitation, and gained the oppoſite bank, with the loſs of two only of their body. The enemy, who were pouring down to oppoſe their paſſage, were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at this intrepidity, and fled without ſtriking a blow. They were purſued with conſiderable ſlaughter by the Engliſh, who thus became maſters of the city without reſiſtance [h].

Meantime, Roderic, convinced by repeated experience, of the fickleneſs and perfidy of his ſubordinate chieftains, and deſpairing of being able to maintain the conteſt with any probability of ſucceſs, determined to ſave his own province, at leaſt, from the depredations of an incenſed and victorious enemy, by a ſubmiſſion. He, however, declined all application to earl Strongbow, and reſolved to treat immediately with the king of England alone. The affairs of this monarch were returned to a proſperous ſtate, and he was forming ſchemes for the improvement of his kingdom, when he was attended at Windſor by three deputies from Roderic. Theſe were, the archbiſhop of Tu-

[h] Regan.

am,

am, the abbot of St. Brandan, and the chancellor to the king of Connaught. Roderic conſented to do homage, and pay tribute, to the king of England; on which conditions he was allowed to hold the kingdom of Connaught, as well as his other lands and ſovereignties, in as ample a manner as he had enjoyed them before the arrival of Henry in Ireland. The Engliſh laws and government were to be inforced only in the Engliſh pale; and even within this diſtrict, the Iriſh tenant might live in peace, as ſubject to the Iriſh monarch, bound only to pay his quota of tribute, and not to take arms againſt the king of England.

This ſubmiſſion of Roderic, and his ſolemn recognition of Henry's ſovereignty, promiſed additional ſtrength to the Engliſh intereſt in Ireland. But the jealouſy which the king entertained of his barons in this kingdom, threatened to involve them in new diſtreſs. Hervey of Mountmorres, by marrying the daughter of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, and couſin-german of Raymond, ſeemed to have formed a more ſtrict connexion with this lord; a daughter of Strongbow's was alſo given in marriage, to a youth of the houſe of Fitz-Gerald. Maurice himſelf had lately returned from Wales, and was indulged with a grant of Wicklow-caſtle, beſide a diſtrict which Henry had already given him in Ofally. Other leaders of reputation were rewarded with valuable poſſeſſions; ſo that the Engliſh lords ſeemed to be united more firmly than ever, and all of them intereſted in extending and ſecuring their ſettlements. While things were in this ſituation, Hervey, it is ſaid, ſtill rankling with envy and diſcontent, employed his emiſſaries to impreſs Henry with the moſt unfavourable repreſentations of Raymond's conduct. They aſſured the king that this lord aſpired to an independent ſovereignty in Ireland; that for this purpoſe he had practiſed all the arts of factious popularity with great ſucceſs; that he had ſecured in his intereſts the city of Limerick, in which, and in other towns, he had ſtationed garriſons devoted to his ſervice; and that the infection had ſpread through the whole army, which only waited the command of Raymond to engage in any enterpriſe, however repugnant to the authority of their prince. Theſe plauſible repreſentations, countenanced by the known attachment of the army to Raymond, made an impreſſion on the mind of Henry. Four commiſſioners were immediately diſpatched to Dublin; two of whom were to conduct Raymond to the king, and two to remain in that city, in order to watch

the conduct of Strongbow, and to learn the diſpoſitions of the other lords.

The commiſſioners having arrived, Raymond, who ſaw the machinations of his ſecret enemy, declared his readineſs to obey the king's pleaſure, and prepared to ſet out for England; but was for ſome time detained by contrary winds. During this interval, intelligence was received that O'Brien, of Thomond, the formidable enemy of the Engliſh power, had laid ſiege to Limerick, and that the garriſon, if not immediately relieved, muſt fall a ſacrifice to his vengeance. This information gave earl Strongbow the greater uneaſineſs, as he himſelf at that time laboured under bodily infirmity. The occaſion, however, being preſſing, he muſtered his forces, and prepared for the relief of Limerick, with all the alacrity in his power, when the ſoldiers once more clamoured for Raymond, obſtinately refuſing to march againſt O'Brien, unleſs their favourite general were to command. The king's commiſſioners being conſulted, they readily agreed that they ſhould delay their departure, and that Raymond ſhould undertake the conduct of this expedition. He, at firſt affected reluctance, but, at length, yielded to the earneſt entreaties of the earl and the commiſſioners [a].

His forces were compoſed of fourſcore knights, two hundred cavalry, and three hundred archers, with the Iriſh troops of Rinſelah and Oſſory, whoſe chieftains united with the Engliſh on this occaſion, from a violent perſonal hatred and jealouſy of O'Brien. As he advanced to Munſter, he was informed, that the prince of Thomond had abandoned the ſiege of Limerick, and leading his forces to Caſhel, had ſtrongly intrenched himſelf in a defile, through which the Engliſh were to paſs, and there waited their approach. When Raymond came in ſight of the enemy, who were advantageouſly poſted behind ſome works which they had erected, he diſpoſed his troops, and prepared for an aſſault. His Iriſh troops were ſtruck with the appearance of the enemy, and began to ſuſpect the reſolution of their own allies. But the prince of Oſſory remonſtrating with them on the neceſſity of exerting themſelves, and declaring that if they ſhould preſume to give way, he and his countrymen would inſtantly join the enemy; they made a bold and vigorous onſet, which though received with ſpirit, was finally ſucceſsful. The men of Thomond were driven from their intrenchments

[a] Ibid.

with

with considerable slaughter; and in their flight spread the utmost terror and dismay through the Irish of Munster. O'Brien, wearied out by an unsuccessful contest, determined to make his peace, and to this end proposed an interview with the English general. At the same time, Roderic, in pursuance of his late treaty, repaired to Raymond, to deliver his hostages, and take the oaths of fealty; so that in one day this lord had the honour of receiving the submissions of the king of Connaught, and of the prince of Thomond, who renewed his engagements to the king of England, and his heirs, and gave hostages as a security for his future allegiance.

An unnatural quarrel in the family of Mac Arthy, prince of Desmond, not unusual among the Irish chieftains, afforded Raymond a fair occasion of continuing his progress in Munster, and added to the honour he had already acquired. Cormac, eldest son of this prince, had risen in rebellion against his father, deprived him of his territory, and imprisoned him. Mac Arthy, who had sworn allegiance to the king of England, represented his wrongs to Raymond, and solicited his protection, promising considerable advantages to this general and his associates, if, by their assistance, he should be restored to his dominions. His arguments prevailed: the English entered the territories of Desmond in a hostile manner, ravaging and plundering without mercy, until Cormac was compelled to stop their progress by a submission. His father was reinstated in his territories; and, to requite the baseness of his son, cast him into that prison from which he himself had been rescued, and soon after put him to death.

In the midst of this success, Raymond received intelligence of the death of earl Strongbow. The fickleness of the Irish, and their real abhorrence of their invaders, notwithstanding their pretended submissions, rendered it necessary for the English government to conceal this event, until their forces were collected from the distant quarters of the kingdom; and lest the secret should be discovered, by any miscarriage of the letter, which Basilia now sent to her husband, it was conceived in mysterious terms. She informed him, that her great tooth, which had ached so long, was at last fallen out, and therefore entreated him to return to Dublin with all possible speed.

Raymond, who perfectly understood the meaning of this expression, went instantly to Limerick, and held a secret consultation with a few select friends. It was readi-

ly,

ly agreed, that the death of the chief governor, at a time when the man next in command was ſummoned into England, required an immediate attention to the peace and ſecurity of the Engliſh province; and that no troops could be ſpared from this firſt and neceſſary ſervice. Raymond, therefore, being obliged to withdraw the troops which garriſoned Limerick, propoſed to Donald O'Brien, that as he was now become one of the king's barons, and entitled to the confidence of his liege lord, he ſhould be intruſted with the cuſtody of that city, which might give him an occaſion of approving his attachment, and meriting additional rewards. The Iriſh chieftain received this propoſal with ſecret exultation, concealed under the appearance of the moſt dutiful allegiance. He was ſolemnly ſworn, with the moſt horrid diſſimulation, to take cuſtody of Limerick for the king of England, and to reſtore it peaceably at the royal will and pleaſure. Raymond and his troops proceeded to evacuate the town; but they had ſcarcely paſſed over one end of the bridge, when the other was broken down; and they had the mortification to behold the city, which they had taken much pains to fortify, and ſupply with ſtores of every kind, ſet on fire in four different quarters, by order of O'Brien, who declared that Limerick ſhould be no longer the neſt of foreigners.

Upon the death of earl Strongbow, the Engliſh council at Dublin, who had the power of electing a chief governor, in any exigency, until the king's pleaſure ſhould be known, conferred this office upon Raymond, the favourite of the army, and the terror of their Iriſh enemies. The king's commiſſioners readily concurred in this choice, and embarked in full perſuaſion that they had provided effectually for the intereſts of their royal maſter, by leaving them to the direction of this lord.

But the jealouſies of Henry were not allayed by the moſt favourable repreſentations which theſe commiſſioners could make of Raymond and his conduct. He therefore determined to entruſt the government of Ireland to William Fitz-Andelm, a nobleman allied to him by blood, and of approved allegiance The new governor with his attendants landed at Wexford, where Raymond was at hand to receive him, with all the reſpect that was due to his rank. Having aſſumed the reins of government, he began his adminiſtration by a ſtately progreſs along the coaſt. An aſſembly of the Iriſh clergy was convened at Waterford, in which the brief, lately granted by Alexander,

ander, and the bull of Adrian, were ſolemnly promulged, and the king's title to the ſovereignty of Ireland aſſerted in form, with dreadful denunciations of the ſevereſt cenſures of the church, againſt all thoſe who ſhould impeach the grant made by the holy ſee, or reſiſt the ſovereign authority of Henry, thus conſtituted rightful lord of Ireland [1]. A.D. 1177.

But whatever might be the influence of ſuch denunciations, in a ſuperſtitious age, a vigorous and reſolute commander was ſtill neceſſary to defend the intereſts of the Engliſh monarch againſt a turbulent and incenſed army. The territory of Meath had lately been the ſcene of deſperate hoſtilities. Richard Fleming, an Engliſhman, who commanded the caſtle of Slany, wantonly preſuming on his ſtrength, had, by his depredations, provoked the neighbouring chiefs, who in revenge fell ſuddenly upon him, made great ſlaughter among his followers, and purſued the remains of his garriſon to the very walls of Dublin. Fitz-Andelm was little ſuited for repreſſing, or revenging ſuch incurſions. The object of his adminiſtration was to enrich himſelf, not by the force and terror of his arms, but by the leſs hazardous and baſer means of fraud and circumvention. To preſerve peace with the Iriſh chiefs, he had recourſe to affected courteſy and flattery, which they had diſcernment enough to diſcover, and conſequently deſpiſed. He entertained, at the ſame time, a ſtrong jealouſy of the original adventurers, whom he early impreſſed with prejudices againſt him. He had, however, the addreſs to prevail upon ſome of the firſt ſettlers, to exchange their poſſeſſions for land, which were more expoſed to the incurſions of the natives; and where he could not induce them by artifice, he had recourſe to compulſion. Thus while all advantages were engroſſed by the governor and his dependants, the perilous and laborious duties of defence were impoſed on the original adventurers, who became impatient at ſeeing the fruits of their toil ſeized by theſe new ſettlers. Inſurrections and depredations, in various parts, attended the government of Fitz-Andelm. The imperfect accounts which remain of the local diſſenſions, and provincial conteſts in Ireland, at the preſent period, give a ſhocking idea of the ſtate of this unhappy country. Deſmond and Thomond, in the northern province, were diſtracted by the jealouſies of contending chiefs, and the whole land waſted by unnatural and

[1] Hanmer.

bloody quarrels. Treachery and murder were revenged by treachery and murder, ſo as to perpetuate a ſucceſſion of outrages, the moſt horrid and diſgraceful to humanity. The northern province was a ſcene of the like enormities, though the new Engliſh ſettlers, who were conſidered as a common enemy, ſhould have forced the natives to mutual union [k].

The complaints occaſioned by an indolent and corrupt adminiſtration were too loud to be long concealed from the Engliſh monarch, and determined him to remove Fitz-Andelm from the government of Ireland. Hugh de Lacy was therefore appointed to this ſtation, for which he had already approved himſelf eminently qualified. The king now found himſelf at leiſure to make ſeveral regulations relative to his new dominions, and for this purpoſe he ſummoned the principal adventurers to attend him in England. He is ſaid to have made a formal appointment of his ſon John to the lordſhip of Ireland; an appointment which has been the ſubject of much diſcuſſion; writers of different parties repreſenting it as might beſt ſuit their particular purpoſes. It appears, from the ſeveral grants of territories, which Henry made at this time, that he conferred upon his ſon John ſomething more than a mere title of honour, or temporary authority; but that it was by no means his intention to reſign the entire ſovereignty of Ireland, or to transfer the rights he had there acquired, fully and abſolutely to his ſon. His Iriſh ſubjects were to hold not of John only as their ſole rightful lord, but as a ſubordinate power.

Henry appoints John lord of Ireland.

It is not clear by what right Henry now diſpoſed of the ſouthern provinces, and other parts of Ireland, or how the grants he had lately made were reconcilable to the treaty which he had concluded with Roderic.

Hugh de Lacy proceeded to the adminiſtration of his government with abilities and vigour. The Iriſh, no leſs than his own countrymen, had reaſon to be ſatisfied with his conduct; for his influence, as far as it extended, was employed in protecting them from oppoſition, ſoftening their averſion to the new ſettlers, and teaching them the arts of peace. At the ſame time, he was careful to guard againſt the inſidious and turbulent ſpirit of thoſe natives. He ſtationed ſome of the braveſt of the original adventurers where they might be moſt ſerviceable in warding off incurſions. He was indefatigable in raiſing forts in

[k] Hanmer.

every

every part of Leinster, as he had formerly in Meath; and these were entrusted to English lords of assured courage and fidelity. He administered justice with lenity and impartiality; and is said to have set the example of a politic coalition between the natives of each kingdom, by marrying the daughter of Roderic O'Connor.

But the popularity naturally arising from his prudent administration, served to render him the object of envy. Suspicions were suggested to Henry, and but too favourably received. His jealousy of a powerful subject, which had operated in the case of all the great adventurers in Ireland, disposed him to apprehend that Lacy might shake off his allegiance, and erect himself into an independent sovereign. The king, therefore, suddenly recalled this lord, and appointed to the government of Ireland two men, who were strangers to the country, and little qualified for so important a trust. These were, John, constable of Cheshire, and Richard de Peach, bishop of Coventry. This mistaken policy might have proved prejudicial to the interests of Henry, had not the error been corrected within the space of three months. The readiness with which Lacy resigned his state, and appeared before his royal master, the ingenuous account of his conduct, and the conviction which it afforded of his zeal and loyalty, dissipated at once all Henry's suspicions; and Lacy was again remanded to his government. Robert of Shrewsbury, a domestic chaplain, in whom the king placed peculiar confidence, attended him as a coadjutor, or rather an inspector of his actions; which Lacy himself is said to have requested, that the king might be thus authentically informed of all his conduct.

Lacy, on resuming his government, pursued the same measures which had hitherto been attended with such good effects; and while he was busily employed in strengthening and settling the province of Leinster, John de Courcey, with equal diligence, continued to extend and secure his settlements in the northern province, notwithstanding the vigorous and obstinate resistance of the natives.

Some incursions from Thomond threatened to disturb the peace of the English province, but were quickly repelled, without any considerable loss [1]. In Desmond, the late partition of lands was still maintained, without any apparent discontent; and in Connaught, the attention of

[1] Ann. Anon MSS.

the Iriſh chieftains was confined to their own factious quarrels.

Henry, with an inſtability unworthy of ſo great a character, once more liſtened to the ſuggeſtions of thoſe who repreſented the dangerous power of his vice-gerent in Ireland, his ambition, and his connexion with the king of Connaught. He, therefore, again recalled Lacy from his government, and appointed for his ſucceſſor Philip de Braoſa, or Philip of Worceſter, as he is called; a man whoſe ſole object was to enrich himſelf by plunder and oppreſſion. His firſt act of power was to wreſt ſome valuable lands from proprietors who had purchaſed of Lacy, under pretence of appointing them for the king's proviſions. He marched through different parts of the kingdom with a formidable body of troops, enforcing his exactions with the utmoſt rigour. At Armagh he ſpent ſix days feaſting and revelling in mid-lent, to the great ſcandal of this ſeat of piety, and extorting money from the clergy with inſatiable rapaciouſneſs. But the power which Philip exerciſed with ſuch odious violence, was not of long duration; for prince John now prepared to aſſume that authority in Ireland, which Henry's late donation had conferred upon him. He received the honour of knighthood from his father's hand; and to attend him to his ſeat of government, a ſplendid train was appointed. This conſiſted chiefly of Norman youths, luxurious and inſolent; with a number of Engliſhmen, ſtrangers to the country, deſperate in their fortunes, and filled with vaſt expectations of advantage from their preſent ſervice. Glanville, an eminent lawyer, had been ſent by Henry to aſſiſt and direct his ſon. Several grave eccleſiaſtics were alſo appointed to accompany him; and among theſe Cambrenſis, who had acquired ſome knowlege of the ſtate of Ireland. But men of ſage and reverend characters were conſidered only as the formal appendages of a court, where a prince, yet in his boyiſh years, was engroſſed by young aſſociates, who flattered his levity, and miniſtered to his pleaſures. The whole retinue embarked in a fleet of ſixty ſhips, and, after a proſperous voyage, arrived at Waterford.

A.D. 1185.

John arrives in Ireland.

The fame of this embarkation had a happy influence upon the Iriſh chieftains, of whom ſeveral, the moſt refractory, now determined to do homage to the king's ſon; but thoſe native lords of Leinſter, who had ever adhered to the Engliſh government, were the firſt to pay their duty to

to the prince, and to congratulate his arrival. They quickly flocked to Waterford, and exhibited to the Norman courtiers a spectacle, which could not fail to excite their contempt and ridicule. They saw men cloathed in a manner totally different from the inhabitants of their own country, and rendered more uncouth by their beards, which they wore in the natural state. These unfashionable figures, who neither spoke their language, nor were acquainted with their manners, advanced with great alacrity through the surrounding courtiers, and, according to their own customs and notions of respect, attempted to kiss the young prince. His attendants stepped in, and prevented this unbecoming freedom, by rudely thrusting away the Irish chieftains. The assembly burst into peals of laughter, plucked the beards, and committed many personal indignities upon the provincial visitors, to shew their own superiority, and gratify the childish petulance of their master.

But the Irish lords, amidst all the plainness of their appearance and behaviour, were not destitute of national pride, and were of all men most impatient of the slightest mark of contempt: they quitted the court with indignation[m]. Meeting with others of their countrymen hastening to the prince, they related the manner of their own reception, and inflamed them to the highest pitch of resentment. On returning to their habitations, they repaired, some to the chiefs of Connaught, others to those of Thomond and Desmond; repeated the indignities they had sustained, and entreated the more powerful lords to unite bravely against an enemy possessed with an obstinate and implacable aversion to their whole nation. The chieftains agreed, instead of doing homage to prince John, to forget their private animosities, and join themselves in solemn league for exerting their utmost endeavours to free their country from these imperious foreigners.

This dangerous spirit was farther increased by the indiscretion of John's attendants, who every where exercised oppression over the natives. Even in the maritime towns, which Henry had peculiarly reserved to himself, new grants were pretended, and new claims advanced against the citizens, to deprive them of their possessions. The Irish, who had peaceably submitted to live under English lords, and held the lands assigned to them for their services by English tenures, were treated with still less re-

[m] Girald.

ſerve. They were at once driven from their ſettlements with the moſt diſdainful inſolence, to make way for theſe courtiers, or their minions. The moſt rancorous averſion to their oppreſſors now ſeized this numerous claſs of inhabitants. They fled to the other malcontents; informed them of the ſituation and circumſtances of the Engliſh ſettlements; taught them the arts of war, which they had learned by a long intercourſe with the foreigners, and directed where their attacks on the common enemy might be moſt ſucceſsful.

While the ſtorm was thus gathering, John kept his court in idle pomp, and his attendants indulged in their uſual exceſſes; but the noiſe of inſurrection ſoon became formidable. The alarm of hoſtilities and diſaſters poured in from every quarter. The lately erected caſtles, and other places of ſtrength occupied by the Engliſh, were ſuddenly attacked. The government was aſtoniſhed at the intelligence of multiplied incurſions; and affecting reports were every day received of ſome dreadful carnage or commotion. The only vigorous oppoſition to theſe incurſions was made by the original adventurers; for the Engliſh who had lately arrived ſhrunk into their fortified towns, where they lived in riot, while the open country was a ſcene of havock and confuſion.

Eight months of diſorder had elapſed, before Henry was fully informed of the dangerous ſituation of his Iriſh intereſts, and determined to recall young John from a government ſo weakly adminiſtered. The king had about this time been unhappily deprived of the ſervices of Hugh de Lacy. This lord had lately been proceeding to erect a fort at Dorrowe, or Derwarth, upon the ſite of a venerable abbey. The Iriſh were ſhocked at ſuch profanation of this ancient ſeat of devotion; and the animoſity of the natives, inflamed by this ſuperſtition, operated upon one of the workmen even to a degree of phrenſy: he ſeized the moment when that nobleman was employed in the trenches; and drawing out his battle-ax, which had been concealed under his long mantle, as Lacy was ſtooping, at one vigorous blow ſmote off his head.

The boiſterous valour of De Courcey ſeemed now to be Henry's beſt reſource in his dangerous ſituation of affairs. A.D 1186. This lord was therefore entruſted with the Iriſh government; and John returned to England with his giddy train, who ſeemed pleaſed to eſcape from a country of turbulence and danger. De Courcey, thus left with the old adventurers

John quits Ireland.

turers, proceeded with indefatigable labour to the business of war, for which he was best calculated. In conjunction with young Lacy, son to the late lord, he is said to have taken severe vengeance for the murder of his gallant countryman. He kept his forces in continual action, repelling his assailants, and terrifying them by the vigour of his operations. In this defensive war he was favoured by the natural temper of the Irish, who, in all the mischiefs they had wrought, acted from sudden fits of violence, which abated by time. Those who in the provinces most distant from the seat of the English government, felt least from their invaders, soon forgot the common enemy, and turned their attention to those quarrels which still raged among themselves [n].

Against an enemy thus divided and distracted, De Courcey was better able to support his government. But his enterprising spirit could ill brook the restraint of a defensive war, and he resolved to make an attempt upon the disordered province of Connaught. Collecting, therefore, the best part of his English forces, he marched thither with more valour than circumspection; but soon learning that some chieftains in that country were, contrary to his expectation, preparing to attack him, he determined to put an end to his rash adventure by a speedy retreat into Ulster. He had, however, scarcely proceeded to the execution of his purpose, when he was informed that another powerful army lay in an advantageous situation, ready to oppose his progress. He returned to his former camp, when the confederate army of Connaught and Thomond immediately appeared, and threatened to overwhelm him. The courage of the English was now put to a severe trial. They sustained, for a time, though with considerable loss, the repeated assaults of the enemy; but the latter pressing upon them, their only hope was to secure a retreat; in effecting which, several of their brave knights were killed.

This disaster encouraged the chieftains of Ulster and Argiel to attack the English settlements in their territories. To suppress these commotions, De Courcey marched once more into Ulster, stormed and burnt the town of Armagh, where his enemies had assembled, terrified them by the violence of his execution, and re-established an appearance of tranquillity through the whole province, without

[n] Ann. Var. MSS.

any opposition from the people of Connaught. The latter province was now involved in anarchy and slaughter, the consequences of an unnatural rebellion among the sons of Roderic. One of these, Conner Moienmoi, fell by the hand of an assassin, hired by his own ambitious brother, who was soon after slain in revenge by a son of Connor. Thus by his own vigour, and the dissentions of his enemies, De Courcey was enabled to maintain the authority of the English government; and if not to extend, at least to support the acquisitions which the natives of that country had made in Ireland.

Such was the situation of affairs in Ireland at the death A.D.1189. of Henry. Richard, on his accession to the throne, was too much engaged by more brilliant objects, to enquire *Richard.* minutely into the royal claims in that country; and too indulgent to his brother John, to question the authority with which he had been invested by his father. The style which John now assumed was that of John, earl of Moreton, and lord of Ireland. The deputies appointed to govern in Ireland, during the reign of Richard, were appointed by John, who appears to have then exercised essential acts of power in that country. Yet whatever ideas of power the title of lord of Ireland may convey, this prince certainly enjoyed it only in subordination to the English crown, in the same manner as was done by the several governors who had been appointed by Henry. In the parts of Ireland not immediately occupied by the English, John's authority was not acknowledged, even by foreigners.

While John reserved to himself the exercise of certain powers, the administration of affairs in Ireland, and the support of his authority in that kingdom, were entrusted to the English deputies. On the accession of Richard, Hugh de Lacy the younger, had so effectually recommended himself to earl John, that he was enabled to supplant De Courcey, and obtained his government. The latter could not conceal his indignation to find the merit of his services thus slighted. He retired to Ulster, resolving to take the advantage of the grants he had received from Henry; and by detaching himself from the new deputy, he betrayed the real weakness of the English government.

Among the survivors of the rebellious house of Roderic O'Connor, Cathal, surnamed the Bloody-Handed, now stood highest in the esteem of his countrymen; and by the assistance of a powerful faction, had been invested with the royal dignity of Connaught. An elevation obtained

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by intrigue and violence, was to be supported by those qualities which strike the multitude most forcibly. Cathal soon discovered an extraordinary passion for military glory; declared himself resolved to assert the ancient honours of his family, and his country; and particularly breathed the most detetmined vengeance against those foreigners, who had usurped some of the fairest possessions in the nation, and threatened to extend their insolent and oppressive government over the island. Applause and popularity were the consequence of such declarations. His provincials admired him; and the chiefs of Munster respected a young warrior, who promised to lead his countrymen to victory and glory. They readily consented to form an alliance with him. That they might act with more vigour against the common enemy, the lords of Thomond and Desmond agreed to bury their old quarrels in oblivion, and to conclude a formal treaty of peace upon amicable and equitable terms [o].

De Courcey, who perceived the rising storm, was solicitous to strengthen his settlements in Ulster, which were threatened with a formidable attack. He could expect no succour from De Lacy, and therefore determined to collect all the forces he could command of his own immediate followers [p]. Armoric of St. Lawrence, his trusty friend and counsellor, was instantly called off from some petty enterprise, in which he had engaged, and marched without delay to the assistance of De Courcey, with a little body of two hundred foot, and thirty cavalry. Cathal, through a part of whose province they were to march, was informed of their motions, and resolved to intercept them. The brave English knight soon found he had incautiously fallen into an ambush, where an army, vastly superior to his own inconsiderable troop, lay in wait to destroy him. In this desperate emergency, the love of life so far prevailed upon the cavalry, that they resolved to trust to the fleetness of their horses before they were entirely surrounded, and leave their companions to their fate. The infantry was soon informed of this resolution; and with the brother of Armoric at their head, gathered round their companions, and reproached them with their ignoble purpose; and conjured them by every tender and affecting motive not to disgrace their former conduct, nor to abandon their fellow soldiers, and their brethren, to the fury of a revengeful enemy. The heroic spirit was already

o Innisf. MSS. p Hanmer. MSS. Lambeth. No. 628.

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excited: Armoric drew his ſword, and plunged it into his horſe, the cavalry followed his example; and with one voice declared, that they would ſhare the fate of their companions.

Determined to meet death boldly with their weapons in their hands, they proceeded to the execution of their purpoſe with firmneſs and compoſure. Two, the youngeſt of their body, were ordered to retire to a neighbouring eminence, there to view the engagement, and to bear to John De Courcey a faithful report of his friends, in this their laſt hour of deſperate encounter. The reſt marched forward with a confidence aſtoniſhing to the Iriſh army. Cathal at firſt imagined that they muſt have received a formidable reinforcement, and that he was now to engage a regular army; but ſoon found this little troop in the midſt of his collected forces, without ſupport or reſource. They ruſhed deſperately upon the enemy; they forced their way with terrible havock through the crouds of their aſſailants, of whom a thouſand are ſaid to have fallen under their furious impreſſion. As they were completely armed, they ſuſtained repeated onſets before they could be wounded; and the wounded obſtinately perſevered in ſupporting and encouraging each other, until they fell under the oppreſſion of a conteſt ſo deſperate, not one deigning to ſurvive the carnage.

The reports of inſurrections and confederacies were ſoon conveyed to England, and alarmed earl John for the ſecurity of his Iriſh government. To encreaſe the public confuſion and diſtreſs, the city of Dublin was almoſt totally deſtroyed by an accidental fire; and the neighbouring diſtricts were infeſted by robbers, who annoyed the inhabitants without reſtraint.

Public diſorders, with the alarm of wars and commotions, ſerved to caſt a ſuſpicion of ſome want of abilities and vigour on the adminiſtration of De Lacey. William Petit was ſubſtituted in his place, and was ſoon ſucceeded by William, earl marſhal of England. This nobleman had married Iſabella, daughter to earl Strongbow, by the princeſs of Leinſter; and of conſequence was inveſted with large poſſeſſions in Ireland. One ſo connected with the country was likely to be received with favour; and the dignity of his rank and character promiſed weight to his adminiſtration.

A government of extraordinary vigour was become indiſpenſable. The prince of Connaught had by his late ſucceſs,

ſucceſs, which was induſtriouſly magnified, raiſed a dangerous ſpirit among the Iriſh chiefs, his confederates. The reigning prince of Thomond, that he might not be outdone by his countryman and ally, levied a conſiderable force, and declared hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh borderers. The contending parties encountered at Thurles, where victory declared in favour of the troops of Thomond. This diſgrace, however, did not prevent the Engliſh from continuing the war, ravaging the territories of O'Brien, and erecting ſeveral forts to keep their enemies in awe, and to ſecure their own ſettlements. They even extended their depredations into Deſmond, where the Iriſh leaders, notwithſtanding all their boaſted ſchemes, proved unable to oppoſe their invaders. The death of O'Brien, which happened about this time, gave new confidence to the Engliſh, and enabled them, in the confuſion of the province, and the diſtractions ariſing from a conteſted ſucceſſion, to penetrate into the very heart of Thomand, where they are ſaid to have exerciſed great cruelties[q].

Cathal, the prince of Connaught, being informed of the bloody progreſs of his enemies, entered Munſter at the head of a formidable army, which the Engliſh were utterly unable to oppoſe. They retired precipitately at his approach; and Cathal, with all the triumph of a victorious prince, razed their caſtles to the ground. But this chief, who had neither judgment to concert, nor real power to execute any maſterly plan for the ſubverſion of the Engliſh eſtabliſhments, contented himſelf with the honour of defying and inſulting the enemy, and retired to his province, leaving them to repair the havock he had made. Scarcely had they attempted this neceſſary work, when they found themſelves again expoſed to the attacks of Mac-Arthy of Deſmond; who led his forces againſt the Engliſh upon their return to Munſter, defeated them in the field, and purſued his advantage, until he had driven them out of Limerick.

Cork was now the only conſiderable port of ſtrength in Munſter, which remained in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. And as the garriſon was ſurrounded by its enemies of Deſmond, it was not poſſible for the troops to ſubſiſt, much leſs to maintain their ſtation, without ſome powerful ſupport. The occaſion was too urgent not to command the attention of the Engliſh government. A conſiderable force was detached into the South, to check the

q MS. Lambeth.

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dangerous progreſs of the enemy; yet not ſufficiently numerous to encounter the people of Deſmond, now reinforced by the troops of Connaught, headed by their warlike prince O'Loughlan. The Engliſh army received a total defeat; and the garriſon of Cork, cut off from all reſources, ſeemed deſtined to immediate deſtruction. But the ſecret jealouſies of their enemies ſerved to ſuſpend their fate; though they were at laſt obliged to capitulate; and Cork was ſurrendered to the prince of Deſmond.

The loſs of this important place too plainly indicated the weakneſs of the government; and the feeble attempts made to re-eſtabliſh the Engliſh intereſts in Munſter, ſerved only to diſcover the real ſuperiority of their enemies. Though diſſentions in the family of O'Brien gave the Engliſh an opportunity of again invading Thomond, and though repeated attempts were made upon the territory of Deſmond; yet the whole effect of thoſe expeditions was to waſte the country, without any acquiſition of permanent advantage.

Such was the progreſs of events, during the adminiſtration of the earl marſhal; when Hamo de Valois was appointed to ſucceed him in the year 1197, a period of the utmoſt public confuſion and diſtreſs; when John de Courcey, and Hugh de Lacey, were employed in their reſpective provinces, independent of the Engliſh government, almoſt all Munſter evacuated by the Engliſh, and the province of Leinſter with difficulty maintained. To ſupply the urgent neceſſities of a diſtreſſed and enfeebled government, Hamo could deviſe no more effectual expedient than an invaſion of the eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions. He began his adminiſtration with ſeizing ſeveral lands which had been granted to the ſee of Dublin; an act of violence the moſt odious and offenſive, at a time when the rights of eccleſiaſtics were accounted infinitely more ſacred than thoſe of other ſubjects [r]. The archbiſhop remonſtrated, expoſtulated, and even denounced the vengeance of heaven againſt the abominable ſacrilege; but without effect. He profeſſed to conſider ſuch obſtinacy as a violent expulſion from his paſtoral charge, and reſolved to abandon his dioceſe, rather than ſeem to acquieſce in the profane uſurpation of its rights. He repaired to his cathedral, in all the ſolemnity of the deepeſt affliction. Books, chalices, images, and all the gaudy apparatus of public ſervice, were removed. He ordered the crucifixes to be crowned with thorns, and laid proſtrate on the ground, in token of the downfal of

[r] Hoveden.

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the church; and laying upon his dioceſe the tremendous ſentence of interdict, departed the kingdom. A miracle was deviſed, to affect the minds of the ignorant and ſuperſtitious ſtill more deeply. One of thoſe proſtrate crucifixes was ſhown, with all the marks of agony impreſſed upon it; the face inflamed, the eyes dropping tears, the body covered with ſweat, and blood and water iſſuing from its ſide. The exiled prelate received this wonderful declaration of heaven in his favour, ſolemnly atteſted by his clergy, to be laid before the Roman pontiff. Yet his enemies were ſtill obdurate. His ſuffragans were too anxious for the preſervation of their own properties to provoke the civil government, by eſpouſing the quarrel of their metropolitan. His earneſt applications to earl John, and thoſe to king Richard, were equally neglected. Nor was it until ſome years after that Hamo de Valois felt compunction for his offence, and granted to the ſee of Dublin twenty carucates of land, in atonement for the depredations he had committed in the courſe of his government.

During theſe diſorders, Roderic O'Connor, laſt of the Iriſh monarchs, died in extreme old age, in the monaſtery of Cong, where he had paſſed many years in quiet, unnoticed by the contending factions of his province.

John, upon his acceſſion to the throne, had neither leiſure nor inclination to attend to the affairs of Ireland. Some former grants, however, were renewed, as well to the church as to the lay barons[s]; and Hamo de Valois, who, from harraſſing the eccleſiaſtics, proceeded to commit depredations on the laity, was removed from his government with diſgrace, and obliged to pay the king one thouſand marks. Meiler Fitz-Henry, natural ſon of Henry I. and one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed barons who had originally adventured into Ireland, was appointed to ſucceed him; but he poſſeſſed not a force for any attempt worthy of his valour and abilities. John de Courcey, and Hugh de Lacy, two of the moſt powerful ſettlers in Ireland, had for ſome time affected a ſtate of independence, and entered into treaties with the neighbouring lords. William de Burgo, a baron of the family of Fitz-Andelm, now alſo roſe into eminence. He ſoon contrived to poſſeſs himſelf of Limerick, and to form a ſettlement, which threatened all Munſter, diſtracted as it was by the barbarous quarrels of rival chiefs. Tempted by the hopes of new acquiſitions, and encouraged by the

A.D 1199. *John.*

[s] Chart. Penes Com. Mid. MSS.

weakneſs of the Engliſh government, he ſhook of his allegiance to the crown, and made war and peace by his own authority, as a ſovereign and independent chief t.

The ſpirit of independence and diſaffection which broke forth among the Engliſh barons of Ireland, had been excited not only by their large grants, and extenſive ſettlements, but by the circumſtances and ſituation of the king of England. Like the other lords of his realm, they were neither reconciled to his ſucceſſion, nor ſatisfied with his conduct. The violent and artleſs temper of John de Courcey was particularly inflamed by the unhappy fate of prince Arthur, whoſe pretenſions to the crown he had originally approved; and whoſe death he now reſented in the bittereſt terms of reproach. Hugh de Lacy, more flexible and temporiſing, and ſecretly envying the growing power of this lord, ſeized the advantage of his indiſcretion, and repreſented him to the king as extremely diſaffected to his government; urging the danger that might ariſe from a perſon, who, not contented with renouncing his allegiance, openly accuſed his ſovereign as the murderer of his nephew, and rightful liege lord.

John, ſtung with this reproach, as well as provoked at his revolt, ſummoned him to repair to his preſence, and do him homage. De Courcey treated his mandate with contempt; ſo that de Lacy, with his brother Walter, received a commiſſion to ſubdue this refractory baron, and to ſend him priſoner to the king. De Lacy led on his troops, pierced into Ulſter, and is ſaid to have come to an engagement with de Courcey at Down, in which he was forced to retire with diſgrace, and no inconſiderable loſs. The Ulſter lord, however, conſcious that he could not long maintain a war againſt ſuch forces as the Engliſh government might command, and dreading to be ſtripped of his valuable poſſeſſions, conſented to ſubmit and do homage to John; demanding a ſafe-conduct, and giving hoſtages for his peaceable departure and appearance before the king. He was accordingly conveyed to England, and condemned to perpetual impriſonment. Here he remained unnoticed, until a champion of Philip king of France appeared at the court of John, and propoſed to aſſert his maſter's claim to Normandy, or to ſome caſtle of this province (for it is variouſly related) in ſingle combat. John, mortified to find no ſubject of his realm prepared to encounter this challenger, is reminded that his priſoner De

t Chart. penes Com. Mid. MSS.

Courcey

Courcey, promised, by his valour and bodily strength, to prove more than equal to the French champion. De Courcey is invited to support the honour of his country; and, after repeated denials, is at length prevailed upon, not for the sake of John, who had treated him so injuriously, but for the honour of his crown and kingdom, to accept the challenge. He desires his own sword to be brought from Ireland; the rigours of his confinement are softened; and his strength restored by due care and nourishment. The day of this important decision at last arrives. The princes and nobles of each nation are assembled in the utmost expectation. The Frenchman first appears. De Courcey prepares himself with great composure; and when he enters the lists, the Frenchman, having surveyed him minutely, and being terrified by the stern aspect, and the gigantic size of his antagonist, declines the combat, and flies into Spain. The two kings, who are said to have been witnesses of this triumph of De Courcey, now intreated him to give some proof of his bodily strength, as they had been disappointed in their expectations of his hardy combat with the Frenchman. In compliance with their desire, we are told, that he ordered some attendants to drive into the ground a stake, on which were placed a coat of mail, and a helmet. Then drawing his sword, and looking with a stern and threatening aspect on the princes, he struck it through the armour so deeply into the stake, that no one but himself could draw it out. The princes expressed their astonishment not only at his vigour, but at the menacing looks which he had darted at them both. He answered them with a rude and sullen violence, that, had he missed his blow, he should have struck their heads. The importance of his present service atoned for these passionate expressions. John gave him his liberty, restored him to his possessions; and it is added, that on this occasion, he, at the request of De Courcey, granted to him and his heirs the privilege of standing covered in their first audience with the king of England.

Such is the romantic account delivered by English writers (upon the authority of Irish narratives) of this transaction. But besides that the general tenor of this narrative, and the poetical colouring by which it is enlivened, render it suspicious, even at first view, public records detect some part of it, the most authentic and incontested histories of his reign destroy the credit of others, and leave nothing of the whole that claims any plausible support.

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Upon the death of this lord, which ſeems to have happened ſoon after his diſgrace, the earldom of Ulſter was granted to Hugh De Lacy, in prejudice to the claim of Milo, ſon of De Courcey, and one of thoſe hoſtages he had ſent to John. His honours and poſſeſſions, thus transferred by the indiſcreet and capricious bounty of the king, ſerved to ſwell the pride, and raiſe the power of the Laceys to a formidable height. And now, as the diſtreſſes of John required the preſence and aſſiſtance of his moſt truſty and favourite barons, both Hugh De Lacy, and Meiler Fitz-Henry, were called into England, and the government of Ireland entruſted to Walter De Lacey, in conjunction with the archdeacon of Stafford [u].

The vigour and activity of Meiler Fitz-Henry, in an expedition againſt De Burgo, gave the Engliſh intereſts a firmer eſtabliſhment in the ſouth part of Ireland, than they had obtained for ſome years. Not only Limerick, but Cork, had been recovered; in the latter was erected a ſtrong fort, which kept the Deſmonians in ſubjection. The death, alſo, of Daniel Mac-Arthy, their warlike chief, with their own inteſtine broils, which never were ſuſpended, weakened this people, and of conſequence gave ſtrength to the Engliſh. Meaſures were concerted by Meiler for adding ſplendor and efficacy to the government. At his inſtance, and for the ſecurity of his treaſure, John's mandate was received for building in Dublin a tower, which the deputy was impowered to enlarge into a royal palace, if he ſhould find it expedient; and three hundred marks, a fine due from one of the king's barons of Ireland, were aſſigned towards defraying the edifice. A dreadful plague, however, which had ſpread through many parts of Leinſter, raged with peculiar violence in Dublin; and as ſuch calamities are often aggravated by the outrages of the neceſſitous and deſperate, the deputy received a ſpecial order to repreſs all robbers and plunderers, and to execute the Engliſh laws on delinquents. A melancholy inſtance of ſuch outrages is recorded by hiſtorians; and the annual commemoration of it is continued to this day. During the feſtival of Eaſter, the citizens of Dublin, aſſembled for recreation at a diſtance from the town, when ſome lawleſs ſepts iſſuing from the mountains in the neighbourhood of Wicklow, fell with the utmoſt fury on the unſuſpecting multitude, and ſlaughtered three hundred of their number.

[u] Hanmer.

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The great power of the Laceys had now tempted them to relax their attention and deference to John; and, like others of their countrymen, they had exercised their authority with an oppressive violence. Among the nobles from whom John had demanded hostages, at the time when the sentence of interdict and excommunication had possessed him with apprehensions of a conspiracy, was William de Braosa, lord of Brecknock, who had received considerable grants in Thomond. To the king's messengers who came for this purpose, the wife of Braosa answered with an indiscreet warmth, that her children never should be entrusted to the man who had murdered his own nephew. Vengeance was denounced against William, though he is said to have reproved his wife's intemperance, and promised obedience to the royal will. The arrears due to the king, from his lands in Ireland, were instantly demanded; and on the first default of payment, orders issued to seize his lands and castles, and to secure his person. William, justly dreading the cruelty of an incensed and vindictive tyrant, fled with his wife and children to Ireland, where they were protected by Lacey, in defiance of the king's displeasure.

John, in the meanness of his revenge, was not ashamed to assign the necessity of reducing this out-law and his adherents, as the reason of an expedition into Ireland. He accordingly landed at Dublin in June: and the English writers affirm, that immediately on his arrival, more than twenty Irish dynasts attended to do him homage. Hugh and Walter de Lacey, dreading the consequences of their lawless oppression, and their embezzlement of the king's revenue, fled to France; where William de Braosa also sought shelter from John's resentment, leaving his wife and children concealed in Ireland. A.D. 1210.

The English arms had by this time penetrated into every province, and overspread the whole island with new settlements; but many who held lands of the crown were ignorant of the nature of their tenure, and the manner in which their service should be performed. For the more effectual information, therefore, of his Irish subjects, John now came attended by men learned in the laws of their country, by whose assistance a regular code of English laws was, at the general desire of his Irish subjects, deposited in the exchequer of Dublin. For the regular and effectual execution of those laws, besides the establishment of the king's courts of judicature in Dublin, there was now made a more new and ample division of

the king's lands of Ireland into counties, where sheriffs, and other officers, were appointed.

By the mediation of the abbot of St. Taurin, John was at last prevailed upon to reinstate the Laceys in their possessions, on condition of receiving from Walter two thousand five hundred marks for Meath; and from Hugh, four thousand marks for Ulster.

Upon the departure of the king, the administration of Ireland was committed to John de Grey, bishop of Norwich, who seems to have conducted the government with prudence and vigour. Henry de Londres, archbishop of Dublin, next succeeded to this employment; but affairs were for the most part administered by his deputy Geoffry Morris, or de Mauricso, an eminent English settler in Munster; the primate himself being obliged to attend his royal master in England, where he was present at all the infamous submissions which John made to the see of Rome.

A D. 1216. *Henry III.*

At the accession of Henry III. the gradual progress of the English power had considerably weakened that of the old Irish chieftains [a]. Geoffry de Mauricso was continued in the administration; and Henry de Londres, the prelate of Dublin, was sent into Ireland under the pretence of assuming his pastoral charge, but really as coadjutor to Geoffry. The death of the great earl of Pembroke, in 1219, deprived Ireland of a useful and powerful patron: from this period, at least, her disorders seem to have revived. Hugh de Lacey, whose avarice and ambition had not been extinguished by his misfortunes, deemed this incident favourable to his purposes, and commenced a contest about some lands which the earl had possessed, and which Hugh now claimed as his right. As the grants made to those English lords had raised them to a degree of sovereignty, Lacey was sensible that the dispute must finally be brought to the decision of the sword: and to be the better provided for this event, he courted the alliance of O Nial, the turbulent chieftain of the North, and the avowed enemy of his liege lord. William, the young earl, was suddenly called into Ireland to defend his lands: Leinster and Meath were exposed to the calamities of war, by the incursions of these lords, who, as each prevailed, pursued his adversary, and laid his territories waste. Geoffry, the English governor, was in the mean time obliged to make an expedition into Desmond, to suppress an insurrec-

[a] Ann. Innisf. MSS.

tion of the Mac-Arthys; and terrified the country by the ſeverity of his executions. Donald O Brien of Thomond, amidſt theſe ſtorms, was ſolicitous to ſecure his own domain from the rapine of his countrymen, and the oppreſſive violence of the Engliſh; and, as the moſt effectual method, petitioned and obtained a grant from king Henry, of the kingdom of Thomond, (as it is called) to be held of the king during his minority, by a yearly rent of one hundred pounds, and a fine of one thouſand marks. With leſs attention to the tranquility of the kingdom, Henry alſo granted to Richard de Burgo, repreſentative of that lord who had proved ſo dangerous in the reign of John, the whole kingdom of Connaught, after the death of Cathel the Bloody-handed, who ſtill maintained his ſtate in this province.

The death of Cathel ſoon gave Richard an opportunity to plead his grant. But the Iriſh, according to their own A.D.1223. cuſtoms, proceeded to elect a ſucceſſor: and by the powerful interceſſion of O Nial, Tirlaugh, brother of the late prince, was inveſted with the royal dignity of Connaught. A nomination procured by the open and inveterate oppoſer of the Engliſh government, and ſupported by his arms, was particularly offenſive to Geoffry de Mauriſco. He led an army into Connaught, but without attempting directly to ſupport de Burgo in his claims, contented himſelf with expelling Tirlaugh, and eſtabliſhing Fedh, as ſon of Cathal, in his room. The uſual ſubject of contention in this diſordered province was thus revived. The ſucceſſor grew inſolent, was provoked at the demands made upon his territory by the Engliſh, reſiſted them by force, was ſupported by his countrymen, and proved ſo ſucceſsful, as to make priſoner a ſon of Geoffry, who ſeems to have marched with a conſiderable force to oppoſe him. Being ſoon reduced to extremity, he was obliged to come in perſon to treat with the governor: when a diſſention ariſing between ſome of his Iriſh train, and the domeſtics of Geoffry, Fedh was unhappily killed in the tumult. His uncle and rival reſumed the ſovereignty, but was ſoon depoſed by Richard de Burgo, who ſucceeded Mauriſco in the government, and deemed it more conſiſtent with his A.D.1228. views to inveſt another ſon of Cathal's, called Fedlim, with the royal title. This chief had the ſpirit to oppoſe the claims made on his territory by de Burgo, in a manner more peremptory, as he was now in the plenitude of his power. De Burgo, impatient of controul from his creature, denounced againſt him the terrors of his ven-

geance, commenced hoſtilities, and even made him captive. But Fedlim had the good fortune to eſcape; and collecting a conſiderable body of his adherents, marched againſt his rival, now ſupported by the Engliſh governor, defeated, ſlew him, and reſumed his authority [b].

A D. 1233. On the removal of de Burgo from the adminiſtration, Maurice Fitz-Gerald was appointed his ſucceſſor; and this favourable opportunity Fedlim determined to improve. Senſible that he could not long ſupport his dignity by any power of his own, he addreſſed himſelf to the king of England; repreſenting in the moſt humble manner his own inviolable attachment as well as that of his father to the Engliſh government; and earneſtly entreating permiſſion to repair to England, to caſt himſelf at the king's feet, that he might explain more particularly his own cruel injuries, as well as the malverſations of his enemy de Burgo. Henry, reſolving to act with caution, did not immediately grant this requeſt, but gave ſuch an anſwer as proved ſatisfactory to Fedlim, who continued to enjoy his petty ſovereignty for a time, unmoleſted by any Iriſh rivals, or Engliſh claims; while another and a more important object engaged the attention of the great barons in Ireland, and involved the kingdom in much diſorder.

On the death of William Mariſhal, ſon to the protector, his eſtates and honours devolved on his brother Richard, a young man actuated with all the bold and independent ſpirit of an Engliſh baron. Both the king, and Hubert de Burgh, who was now in power, were acquainted with his diſpoſitions, and dreaded their effects, ſo that when he came to demand poſſeſſion of his lands, it was at firſt denied, on pretence that his brother's wife was pregnant. When this device proved ineffectual, it was, in the next place, alledged, that Richard had held at reaſonable correſpondence with the king's enemies in France; and he was therefore commanded to depart the realm within fifteen days, on pain of perpetual impriſonment. Without the leaſt heſitation, he inſtantly ſet off for Ireland, where he was readily inveſted with his lands and caſtles, and received the homage of his vaſſals. Collecting thence a conſiderable force, he poſſeſſed himſelf of the caſtle of Pembroke, as if reſolved to aſſert his patrimonial claims by arms; a conduct which wrought ſo forcibly on the timidity of the king, that he conſented to accept his homage and fealty, and to inveſt him peaceably in all his rights.

[b] Ibid. Iriſh MSS.

It

It ſoon appeared, that Henry's apprehenſions of the dangerous ſpirit of this lord were but too well founded. When the adminiſtration had been unhappily committed to the prelate of Wincheſter, earl Richard was the firſt to remonſtrate boldly againſt the violent and oppreſſive meaſures of that miniſter. He declared that he and others of his peers would no longer deign to attend the king's councils, while numbers of inſolent foreigners were allowed to engroſs the royal favour. A ſharp reply provoked him and his adherents to abſent themſelves from parliament. When ſummoned, they affected to be apprehenſive for their perſonal ſafety, and diſobeyed the mandate. They were proclaimed traitors, and their lands aſſigned to foreigners. Letters, under the king's ſeal, were directed to Maurice Fitz-Gerald the Iriſh vicegerent, Hugh and Walter de Lacey, Geoffry de Mauriſco, Richard de Burgo, and ſome other inferior lords, purporting, that Richard, late earl mariſchal of England, had, for his manifeſt treaſon, by ſentence of the king's court, been baniſhed the realm, and his eſtates forfeited, yet that he ſtill perſevered in rebellion againſt his ſovereign. It was therefore ſignified to theſe the king's faithful ſubjects, that if Richard ſhould land in Ireland, they ſhould endeavour to ſecure and ſend him to the king alive or dead. In return for this ſervice, they were promiſed all the lands which Richard had enjoyed in Ireland, to be divided among them [c].

The diviſion of a vaſt diſtrict in a part of Ireland the beſt improved, was a ſtrong allurement to theſe lords, whoſe darling objects were riches and influence; and who were not always ſcrupulous in regard to the means which they employed for the attainment of theſe objects. Care was taken in the firſt place, to convey intelligence to earl Richard, that the barons of Ireland had ſeized ſome of his caſtles, and ravaged his lands in Leinſter. As a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities in Wales had allowed him to attend to his Iriſh intereſts, he embarked with fifteen attendants, relying on ſupport from his vaſſals and adherents in Ireland. Immediately on his arrival, he was attended by Geoffry de Mauriſco, who, aſſuming the maſk of friendſhip, affected to commiſerate his wrongs, and to applaud his generous reſolution of ſupporting, to the utmoſt, his rights, againſt the violence and injuſtice of rapacious courtiers, by whom the king was unfortunately governed. He farther encouraged Richard in thoſe ſentiments, by in-

[c] Hanmer.

ſinuating that he could not fail of ſucceſs, and might even reduce all Ireland to his obedience, by a due exertion of that ſpirit which had diſtinguiſhed his illuſtrious progenitors. The earl was eaſily prevailed upon to adopt a ſcheme at once ſo flattering to his intereſts and ambition. Collecting, therefore, his forces, he immediately commenced hoſtilities; took Limerick after a ſiege of four days; and not only recovered his own caſtles, but ſeized ſeveral of thoſe belonging to the king and his barons. De Burgo, the Laceys, and other lords, who ſhould have oppoſed theſe violences, fled before him with an affected terror; while his ſucceſſes only ſerved to drive him into the toils of his enemies. They now repreſented to him by their agents, that, as faithful ſubjects to king Henry, they could not look on tamely, while he reduced the lands which had been entruſted to their cuſtody. But to prevent the effuſion of blood, they deſired a truce; promiſing that if ſuccours were not ſpeedily received from the king, they ſhould conſider him as relinquiſhing his power and authority in the iſland, and on their parts ſhould peaceably reſign it to earl Richard; at the ſame time deſiring an interview with him on the plains of Kildare, in order to adjuſt the terms of the truce, and to effect a mutual agreement. Richard conſented to appear at the place appointed, attended by a force nearly equal to that of his opponents; but by the inſidious advice of Geoffry, haughtily refuſed to grant a truce. The barons replied, that the ſword ſhould then inſtantly decide the conteſt. Both ſides prepared to engage; when in the moment of onſet, Geoffry coldly told the earl, that his only meaſure was to yield to the demands of the barons; for as Walter de Lacey was married to his ſiſter, he could by no means fight againſt ſo near a relation; and ſaying this, he inſtantly marched away with fourſcore of the earls attendants, who had been bribed to the deſertion. Richard was now left with only fifteen brave followers from Wales, to ſupport the ſhock of a hundred and forty opponents. The laws of romantic honour, however, required that he ſhould not fly. He turned to his young brother, and, after entreating him, as being of too tender years for a deſperate encounter, to conſult his ſafety by retiring into a neighbouring caſtle, took of him an affecting farewel. The enemy's attack was chiefly directed againſt his perſon The barons themſelves would not appear to take any part in this unequal conteſt: their followers aſſailed the earl, and at length unhorſed him, though not without bloodſhed and difficulty; when one

of them, pointing a dagger at his back, where he was not defended by his armour, plunged it into his body. The unfortunate earl was conveyed to one of his castles, which Fitz-Gerald had in the mean time reduced; and here he expired a few days after [d].

The news of the death of this popular nobleman excited in England the greatest consternation, and the most violent resentment against the prelate of Winchester, who had sacrificed the earl to his revenge. The discontented barons led the general clamour; affected the utmost indignation, and even terror, for the safety of their own persons. The king justly dreading the effects of the present temper of the people, with a mean dissimulation expressed the deepest sorrow at the death of Richard, extolled his great merits, lamented his own misfortune in the loss of so valuable a subject, and ordered his chaplains to perform a solemn service for the repose of his departed soul. Gilbert, brother and successor of the late earl, was knighted, and invested with his lands, as well as with the office of earl marshal.

The great lords of Ireland, in the mean time, proceeded to divide the spoil of earl Richard's lands with the most rapacious violence. Their outrages were continued with the greater boldness, as Gilbert, the present earl, had soon fallen under the displeasure of Henry; having taken the same measures with his late brother, on the relapse of the king into his former oppressions, and unjust partiality to foreigners. His marriage with the daughter of Alexander king of Scotland served to swell his pride; but less respected than his brother, he was treated by Henry with greater harshness, and soon obliged to sue for a reconciliation; which being at last effected, checked the depredations committed on his Irish estates. Maurice Fitz-Gerald, dreading the consequences of his resentment, thought it expedient to repair to London, that by the mediation of the king he might be reconciled to so powerful a nobleman. In the presence of Henry and his barons, he exculpated himself by oath from any part in the death of Richard; but for the sake of peace, and restoration of amity between their houses, he proposed to found immediately a well-endowed monastery, furnished with a reverend conventual body, to offer up continual prayers for the soul of this unhappy earl.

A formal reconciliation was thus effected, and Maurice was preparing to depart, when Fedlim, prince of Con-

[d] Hanmer.

naught, ſuddenly appeared at the court of England, having at length obtained an opportunity of pleading his grievances, and diſplaying the oppreſſions of de Burgo. This lord, ſoon after the death of earl Richard, had, by the reſtoration of his kinſman Hubert to ſome degree of favour, been encouraged to repair to England, and attend upon the king, who received him with an appearance of favour, though not uninformed of the violence of his conduct, and the many inſtances in which he had preſumed to deſpiſe the royal authority. He only inſinuated, in a letter, with which this lord was honoured ſoon after his return, that he ſhould be careful, by a more punctual compliance with his orders for the future, to obviate all ſuſpicions which might be entertained of his diſloyalty. But regardleſs of this gentle rebuke, he continued to indulge his ambitious views, and particularly to extend his ſettlements in Connaught, with an inſolent contempt of the rights and claims of the Iriſh natives. Pretences for hoſtilities were readily found or invented; and de Burgo had the addreſs to gain Fitz-Gerald, the chief governor, to ſupport his intereſted ſchemes. Under the pretence of ſuppreſſing inſurrections, or enforcing the demands of the government, they united in an invaſion of the territories of Fedlim, and ſtripped him of a conſiderable part of his diſtrict. The injured chieftain had no reſource, but to repeat his application to the throne: he artfully avoided to involve the chief governor in his accuſation, confining his complaint to the exceſſes of de Burgo; and he ſo effectually pleaded his cauſe, that the king ordered Fitz-Gerald to take the ſpeedieſt meaſures for repreſſing the outrages of this proud baron, and re-eſtabliſhing Fedlim in the full poſſeſſion of his rights.

The delay of Fitz-Gerald in leading his ſuccours into Wales, is ſaid to be the cauſe of his removal from the Iriſh government. By this meaſure, a popular lord, with a powerful following, was ſent into the South to raiſe new commotions among the moſt turbulent of the Iriſh natives. The Geraldines and their aſſociates immediately proceeded to enlarge their ſettlements, and to extend their encroachments on the bloody ſept of Mac-Arthy; and all the rage of war was inſtantly kindled in their quarter of the iſland. The death of Richard de Burgo, Hugh de Lacey, and Geoffry de Mauriſco, which happened nearly at the ſame period, produced new commotions. The chiefs of Tyrconnel in the North had taken arms immediately on the departure of Fitz-Gerald to the war in Wales; but at his

his return were, by the assistance of Fedlim, soon reduced. They were now encouraged to resume their hostilities, which the new governor, son of Geoffry, was immediately called to suppress; and to effect this purpose, was the whole business of his administration.

Nor did the western part of Ireland continue to enjoy Henry's protection. Walter, successor of Richard de Burgo, had married the daughter and heiress of Hugh de Lacey; and being of consequence invested with the earldom of Ulster, was enabled to assert, with the more violence, the claims of his family in Connaught. Fedlim, on some pretence of disaffection, once more driven from his territory, once more had the spirit to gain it by force of arms, and to maintain his rights against the great English lords. The rising disorders of England encouraged them to despise the royal authority: they were ever the secret enemies, sometimes the avowed adversaries of each other; and in many places where they had obtained settlements, the natives were first driven into insurrections by oppression, and then punished with double severity for their resistance.

While these powerful lords committed with impunity such outrages in the English territories, they were still less restrained in their violences with respect to the Irish natives, as these neither enjoyed nor claimed the benefits of the English constitution. The whole country felt the melancholy effects of a feeble government, an aspiring nobility, laws suspended and controuled, factions engendered by pride or oppression, the anarchy of the old natives, the injustice of the new settlers, local feuds, and barbarous massacres. Brian O'Nial of Tirowen, who, with his dependents, inherited an inveterate aversion to English government, rose up in arms, compelled some neighbouring chiefs to join his standard, and spread confusion through all the North. Stephen Longespec was called out to oppose him, and, notwithstanding some advantage gained in the field, would have found it difficult to suppress this insurrection, had not the Irish prince fallen by the treachery of his own people. In the South, the Geraldines had for some time kept the state of an independent sept, supporting themselves, since the removal of Maurice Fitz-Gerald from the government, by their own power, and making war and peace by their own authority. They had mortified the Desmonians by their encreasing consequence, and provoked them by their severities. But the fierce and warlike race of Mac-Arthy, encouraged by the

the death of Maurice, ſuddenly took arms, and threatened his family with the moſt deſperate vengeance. Both parties were eager to take the field; and a deſperate engagement at length gave ſuperiority to the Iriſh, who purſued their advantage with all the rage of implacable animoſity. Thomas Fitz-Gerald and his ſon, eighteen barons, fifteen knights, and many of inferior note, were ſlain on the part of the Geraldines; who thus loſt their power, and for ſome time lived in continual terror of the Iriſh ſept.

In this conteſt, the Mac-Arthys affected only to defend their rights againſt the invaſion of a neighbouring clan, and were ſo far from openly declaring againſt the Engliſh government, that at the very time of their greateſt ſucceſs, a new deputy, who landed on their coaſt, was received with the reſpect due to his commiſſion, and paſſed unmoleſted to the ſeat of government. The conquerors proceeded to demoliſh the caſtles erected by their rivals; and elated with ſucceſs, turned their arms againſt ſome Iriſh ſepts, which had provoked their reſentment. Walter de Burgo was ſoon involved in theſe petty quarrels, which interfered with the pretenſions of his family, or promiſed to give him poſſeſſion of ſome diſtricts which he claimed or coveted. He marched againſt the Mac-Arthys, ſlew their leader, ravaged their country, and obliged them to give hoſtages for the performance of ſuch ſevere conditions as he was pleaſed to impoſe. The Geraldines ſeized the advantage of this reduction of their enemies, and revived their old claims; but ſoon found they had a new and powerful adverſary to encounter. De Burgo, who alſo fought for the aggrandizement of his own family, deemed both his honour and his intereſt concerned in humbling theſe aſpiring rivals. Their feuds were violent and bloody, and for a long time continued to ſpread diſtraction and calamity, to the diſgrace of the Engliſh government. The deputy attempted to interpoſe his authority; when Fitz-Maurice and Fitz-Thomas, heads of the Geraldine faction, ſuſpecting him of partiality to their antagoniſt, proceeded to an act of violence, which even the Mac-Arthys had ſcrupled to commit; ſeized his perſon at a conference, and ſent him with Richard de Burgo, ſon of Walter, and ſome other lords, priſoners to one of their caſtles.

So outrageous a defiance of authority raiſed a juſt and general alarm. An aſſembly was convened at Kilkenny

to

to conſider of remedies for the diſorders of the kingdom[c]. Henry, who received the moſt affecting repreſentations of thoſe exceſſes, could interpoſe no farther than by writing to the rival lords, and commanding them to preſerve the public peace. Claims, pretenſions, and conteſts multiplied without number; and all quarters of the kingdom were filled with petty feuds, the reſult of avarice and pride. Famine and diſeaſe, increaſed by ſeaſons remarkably ſevere and tempeſtuous, were the conſequences of ſuch extenſive confuſion; and to aggravate the calamities of this dreary period, the ſevereſt exactions were made on Ireland, both by the king and the pope. In the year 1226, a fifteenth A.D.1226. of all cathedral churches and religious houſes, and a ſixteenth of all other eccleſiaſtical revenues, were demanded by the king, with the concurrence of the pope. But thoſe of the ſee of Rome were yet more oppreſſive. The laity were ſtripped of their very neceſſaries, as well as the churches of all their ornaments, to ſupply the rapacious demands of legates and nuncios. With the ſame effrontery as in England, attempts were made to overſpread the kingdom with Italian eccleſiaſtics. The boldeſt remonſtrances were made to the king againſt this ſcandalous abuſe, of conferring the dignities and revenues of the Iriſh church on proud and luxurious foreigners, who contemptuouſly refuſed to engage in the duties of their function, or to reſide in the country which they pillaged by their extortions. The complaint appeared ſo juſt and urgent, that the king, who had ſcarcely power to maintain a regular government in Ireland, much leſs to ſupport meaſures univerſally obnoxious, was obliged to interpoſe his authority, and by letter to his chief governor, directed that the pope's agents ſhould not only be prevented from extorting money from the eccleſiaſtics, but from making ſuch ſhameful diſpoſitions of their benefices. The clergy, however, had not only the partialities of the pope, but thoſe of Henry himſelf to contend with. All the worthleſs, or the depreſſed, among their Engliſh brethren, ſought refuge in the church of Ireland; to the utter mortification and diſcontent of the whole body of eccleſiaſtics, both of the Iriſh and the Engliſh race. Though forced to ſubmit to the royal authority, ſtrengthened by that of the pope, they yet determined to exert all the power they had left againſt the invaſions of thoſe intruders. By a bold and violent ordinance, it was agreed, that no man of the Engliſh nation ſhould be admitted into a canonicate in any one of the

[c] Hanmer.

Iriſh

Iriſh churches. Nor could the king repreſs this ſpirit but by application to the pope, who commanded that the ordinance ſhould be formally reſcinded within the ſpace of one month, and in caſe of a refuſal, threatening to abrogate it by the plenitude of his authority.

But in proportion as the clergy were checked in thoſe regulations, they univerſally endeavoured to enlarge their juriſdictions in others. After the example of their brethren in England, they excommunicated the moſt dignified perſonages of the kingdom the moment they preſumed to diſpute the claims of the church; ſo that the pope was obliged to interpoſe, and controul this inordinate abuſe of ſpiritual authority. The oppreſſions they endured provoking them to make repriſals on the laity, they exacted from the latter extravagant impoſitions, under the name of oblations of the faithful. The magiſtrates and citizens of Dublin interpoſed their authority to prevent ſo dangerous a precedent. The archbiſhop inſtantly fulminated a ſolemn excommunication againſt theſe ſacrilegious invaders of the church, and laid the whole city under an interdict[f]. Cardinal Ottobon was at hand to confirm the tremendous ſentence. The citizens remonſtrated; and the cauſe received a formal hearing before the lord-deputy and the council. The clergy proved triumphant; and the citizens were reduced to a compoſition extremely mortifying. It was agreed, that, in caſes of any notorious offence (in which, no doubt, was included the offence of oppoſition to the clerical power or intereſt) a commutation, for the firſt time, ſhould be made in money; that in the ſecond inſtance, the offenders ſhould be cudgelled round the church; in the third, that the ſame diſcipline ſhould be repeated publicly, at the head of a proceſſion; and that, in caſe of farther obſtinacy, they ſhould either be diſfranchiſed, or cudgelled through the city.

Edward I. A.D 1272.

Edward I. notwithſtanding the vigour of his adminiſtration, was not at leiſure for making any eſſential improvement in the political ſtate of Ireland. Maurice Fitz-Maurice, to whom, before the death of Henry, the government of the kingdom had been committed, ſtill retained his high office, but with an authority which was far from enforcing the obedience of the turbulent chieftains[g]. He was immediately obliged to march againſt ſome inſurgents, who had deſtroyed ſeveral caſtles, and penetrated even into the moſt flouriſhing parts of Leinſter. So well

[f] Regiſt. Vocat. Crede Mihi. [g] Ann. Multifer. MS.

ſup-

ſupported were the invaders, and ſuch the weakneſs of the governor, that he was betrayed to the enemy by his own followers. He was ſeized in Ophally, and committed to priſon. Nor had his ſucceſſor Glenvill, who had married a daughter of Walter de Lacey, much better ſucceſs. Ulſter, in the mean time, was not only infeſted, from the Scottiſh iſles, by freebooters, who committed depredations with impunity, but embroiled by the civil diſſentions, both of Engliſh and Iriſh, who purſued their private ſchemes of intereſt and revenge, and bid defiance to all legal authority. Fitz-Maurice, when releaſed from his confinement, retired to his own lands, only to raiſe new commotions. Uniting with the lord Theobald Butler, he made an attack upon the Iriſh of Munſter, and forced the O'Briens, who had of late diſcovered a pacific diſpoſition, to take up arms againſt the invaſions of a turbulent and ambitious neighbour.

The power of the Geraldines had been conſiderably increaſed by the marriage of Juliana, daughter of Maurice, with Thomas de Clare, ſon of the earl of Glouceſter, a young lord of martial ſpirit, to whom he granted conſiderable lands in Thomond, and who now led a powerful train of followers into Ireland to ſupport his claim. Such grants provoked the pride, and ſometimes the juſt reſentment of the natives, who found themſelves expoſed to the oppreſſion of invaders, frequently both inſolent and rapacious. The O'Briens exclaimed loudly againſt the incroachments of this new colony. The young Engliſh lord treated their remonſtrances with diſdain; and the conteſt, as uſual, was ſoon brought to the deciſion of the ſword. The war, which was renewed with double fury, ended in the overthrow of the Geraldines; and the O'Briens were acknowledged ſovereigns of Thomond.

Edward had lately ſent his mandate to the prelates of Ireland, to interpoſe their ſpiritual authority for allaying the public diſorders; and now the news of civil war in Munſter was followed by the moſt alarming accounts of inſurrections in Connaught, and the ſlaughter of the Iriſh prince of this province, by a rival chieftain. Provoked by theſe multiplied vexations, he paſſionately recalled the governor, Ufford, into England; who, leaving the adminiſtration in the hands of Fulburne, a friar, encouraged the diſaffected in Leinſter to renew their outrages; and having readily ſatisfied the king, who was intent on more intereſting objects than the ſettlement of this unhappy

kingdom, was remanded thither, to repreſs the commotions which had ariſen in his abſence.

In the midſt of ſuch various diſorders, thoſe Iriſh, who by their ſituation held a conſtant intercourſe with the Engliſh who lay contiguous, found daily occaſions to lament the diſadvantages of the old native inſtitutions under which themſelves lived. All hopes of exterminating the Engliſh were long ſince reſigned: and the only rational purpoſe now to be purſued, was that of acquiring the rights and privileges enjoyed by thoſe happy neighbours, and to change the ſtate of vaſſals and tributaries to the king of England, for the ſecurity and advantage of Engliſh ſubjects. An application, therefore, was made to Ufford the chief governor, with the offer of eight thouſand marks to the king, provided he would grant the free enjoyment of the laws of England to the whole body of the Iriſh inhabitants. Edward expreſſed the ſtrongeſt inclination to comply with their demands, upon condition only that they ſhould hold in readineſs a body of good infantry, amounting to ſuch a number as the governor ſhould think proper, to repair to England, for once, if the king's affairs ſhould require their aſſiſtance. But his deſire was fatally counteracted, by thoſe whoſe duty it was to promote a meaſure ſo well calculated for the benefit of their country. The petition, if granted, would circumſcribe the rapacious views, and controul the violence and oppreſſion of thoſe who profited by the preſent ſtate of the kingdom. As it could not, however, be openly oppoſed upon any principles of ſound policy, every ſubterfuge was employed, and every artifice put in practice, to prevent a convention of the king's barons and other ſubjects in Ireland. Aſſurances were ſent to Edward, that an immediate compliance with his commands was not poſſible in the preſent ſtate of things; that the kingdom was in too great commotion; and that far the greater number of barons was diſperſed on the neceſſary buſineſs of the ſtate, and defence of their own and the king's lands; ſo that an aſſembly could not be formed ſufficiently numerous and reſpectable, to decide upon ſo weighty a point. Such pretences were ſufficient, where the ariſtocratic faction was too powerful, and the king too deeply engaged in more urgent affairs. The application of the Iriſh, however, was renewed, and the king repeatedly ſollicited to accept them as his faithful ſubjects; but ſtill the wiſe intentions of Edward were unhappily fruſtrated; and during the courſe of his reign, individuals of the Iriſh race were obliged to ſue for particular

ticular charters of denization, which we find granted to ſeveral, particularly on their intermarriage with the Engliſh [h].

This continued oppoſition to ſo reaſonable a demand naturally irritated the ſpirits of the Iriſh, and fomented the local jealouſies and conteſts which ſubſiſted between them and their Engliſh neighbours. They ſoon appeared in arms, but without power, union, or addreſs, to form any ſcheme of general confederacy; ſo that theſe inſurrections ſerved only to ravage the ſeveral diſtricts expoſed to their fury, or to revenge particular quarrels. In Deſmond, indeed, the diſcontented Iriſh formed a more regular plan of oppoſition. The Mac-Arthys, ever implacable enemies to the Engliſh, aſſembled ſecretly, diſcuſſed with deliberation the pretenſions of their ſeveral lords, parcelled out the lands of Deſmond, aſſigning what they now poſſeſſed, or expected to recover, according to their own notions of equity, founded on ancient arrangements. They agreed in the election of a prince called Daniel Roadh, marched under his conduct againſt the Engliſh of their province, and were ſo ſucceſsful as to ſeize ſome caſtles, and to drive the enemy from ſeveral of their ſettlements. The O'Briens, their neighbours, meantime, were ready to draw the ſword againſt each other, on the uſual ſubject of Iriſh war, the ſucceſſion to the ſovereignty of their province. Commotions alſo prevailed every where among the Engliſh lords and principal ſettlers, whom the luſt of power and poſſeſſions inſpired with mutual animoſities. Theſe petty broils were multiplied, and continued for ſome years unnoticed, or at leaſt unreſtrained by the king's vicegerents.

Edward had already, by the aſſiſtance of the pope, obtained from the Iriſh clergy a tenth of all their revenues, on pretence of providing for an expedition to the Holy Land. But, not contented with this ſupply, he, without any participation of the holy ſee, demanded, in his own name, an additional fifteenth of all the ſpiritualities in that kingdom. The clergy appealed to the court of Rome, and deſired the protection of the ſovereign pontiff againſt this encroachment on his authority. At the ſame time, in the humbleſt manner, they repreſented to the king the diſtreſſed condition of their church, expreſſing a concern for their inability, and peremptorily refuſing to comply with the requiſition.

h Hanmer.

The

A D. 1307. *Edward II.*

The acceſſion of Edward II. and his partiality to an unworthy favourite, proved to Ireland of ſome momentary ſervice, which might have been rendered permanent and extenſive, had not his folly and inſincerity been carried to the utmoſt degree of infatuation. When Gaveſton was appointed governor of Ireland, he immediately marched againſt the turbulent ſepts, drove them from their retreats, and purſued them with ſevere execution, until they were entirely diſperſed; while his ſoldiers, pleaſed with his valour and gained by his liberalities, followed his ſtandard with the utmoſt alacrity. The envy, however, of the great lords of Ireland, with his own inſolence and imprudence, threatened to interrupt this ſucceſsful progreſs; but before their jealouſies could produce any violent effect, the favourite was ſuddenly recalled, and left the kingdom to its uſual diſtreſſes of a weak government and imperious nobility. Sir John Wogan, who ſucceeded to the adminiſtration, was principally employed in holding conventions, and ordaining laws, which the ſubjects of Ireland were too corrupt to obey, and which the governor wanted power to enforce[i]. The great lords, in the mean time, avowed their contempt of the royal authority, and carried on their private wars without fear or controul.

The accounts of the great atchievements which the Scots were now performing, under the celebrated Robert Bruce, were ſpeedily conveyed to Ireland, where they excited the joy, as well as admiration, of thoſe natives, who, conſidering themſelves allied in conſanguinity to the Albanian Scots, as they were called, were peculiarly intereſted in their fortunes. While they deſpiſed the weakneſs of Edward, they were mortified at the reflection, that they alone had not ſeized the advantage of an indolent reign, to ſhake off the yoke which had ſo long and ſeverely oppreſſed them. The chieftains of Ulſter, in particular, grew impatient to take the advantage of the preſent ſtate of Britain; and as their ſituation rendered it eaſier to hold a correſpondence with Scotland, they addreſſed themſelves to Robert Bruce, who now ravaged the northern parts of England without controul. They pathetically repreſented the diſtreſſes of their country; and entreated his aſſiſtance for an unhappy people, who wanted but ſuch a leader to execute their vengeance upon the common enemy; expreſſing, at the ſame time, their readineſs to receive a ſovereign from Scotland, and pay due allegiance to a prince

i Campion.

who

who had not only valour to rescue them from slavery, but equity to treat them as free subjects. The genius of Robert was naturally formed for bold and adventurous enterprises; and Edward, his brother, who had attended him in all his fortunes, was distinguished by vigour and intrepidity. Robert, knowing his active temper, presented to his ambition the flattering prospect of a new kingdom; urged him to take advantage of the present disposition of the Irish lords, and assured him of such support, as could not fail to seat him on the throne of Ireland. Edward consented to the enterprize; and the chieftains of Ulster were assured that this lord should speedily be sent to their deliverance with a considerable force.

The impatience of young Edward is said to have driven him to a precipitate and injudicious attempt upon the northern coast of Ireland, before a sufficient force could be provided for his enterprize, or his Irish partizans were prepared to declare in his favour[a]. Though this attempt was repelled, the design was not abandoned; and on the twenty-fifth of May, in the year 1315, lord Edward Bruce appeared on the north-east coast of Ireland, where, from a fleet of three hundred barks, he landed six thousand Scots, to assert his claim to the sovereignty of the kingdom. The Irish lords of Ulster flocked with eagerness to his standard, bound themselves by solemn treaty to his service, and marched under his command to wreak their vengeance against the common enemy. The barbarous policy of Edward, seconded by the desperate resentment of the Irish, conspired to mark their progress with desolation and carnage. The English settlers of the North were slaughtered without mercy, or driven in a moment from their possessions. Their castles were levelled to the ground, and their towns set on fire. The English lords, who should have opposed this invasion, were neither cordially united, nor duly prepared to repel it. Richard, earl of Ulster, however, rose up with such forces as he could collect, in defence of his possessions. Being joined by Fedlim O'Connor, the Irish prince of Connaught, he entered the northern province, desolating the districts through which he marched, to supply the necessities of his army. Butler the lord-deputy, at the same time, exerted his diligence to collect the troops of Leinster, and joined the earl with a considerable reinforcement. But Richard, whose declining vigour was supplied by a proud and imperious spirit,

A D. 1315.

[a] Cox.

and who had been accuſtomed to treat the king's vicegerent as his inferior, diſdained this aſſiſtance, declared that his own troops were more than ſufficient to repel the Scots, and puniſh their adherents; adviſing the deputy to return to the ſeat of government, and confine his attention to the ſecurity of Leinſter. The governor readily acquieſced; and the conduct of the war was entruſted ſolely to earl Richard, whoſe operations by no means correſponded with his magnificent promiſes. Bruce, in the firſt ardor of ſucceſs, had advanced into the county of Louth. The earl followed; but without coming to a deciſive action, ſkirmiſhed with the enemy. Bruce, thus harraſſed, and oppreſſed by a ſcarcity of proviſions, followed the advice of his chief aſſociate, O'Nial of Tirowen, and retreated into Ulſter. The earl purſued; and after ſome inconſiderable actions, a general battle was fought near Colerain, which ended in the defeat of Richard. The advantage, however, could not be effectually improved; nor was the earl prevented from carrying on the war. Bruce was therefore obliged to have recourſe to artifice and ſecret negociation, in order to divide and weaken the forces of his enemy. Addreſſing himſelf to Fedlim, the Iriſh prince of Connaught, he rendered that youth extremely deſirous of detaching himſelf from the earl of Ulſter.

In the mean time, the abſence of Fedlim from his territory had encouraged Roderic, one of his factious kinſmen, to endeavour to ſupplant him. This leader, having ſeized the Iriſh diſtrict of Connaught, entered into a negociation with Edward Bruce, promiſing to expel the Engliſh from the whole province, if he were acknowleged as the rightful prince, and ſupported in the honours and poſſeſſions he had now acquired. Bruce readily accepted his ſervices, and received him as his ally; repreſenting at the ſame time the extreme folly and danger of diviſion, entreating him to leave the poſſeſſions of Fedlim unmoleſted, and to ſuſpend the diſcuſſion of all claims, until the common enemy ſhould be ſubdued. Roderic, regardleſs of this counſel, continued to augment his forces, to harraſs the partizans of his rival, and deſtroy their towns, until he had obliged the ſeveral ſepts to acknowlege his ſovereignty, and to give hoſtages for their fidelity. Fedlim, therefore, propoſed to the earl of Ulſter, to march with his whole army into Connaught, in order to expel this uſurper. Though the northern enemy was too formidable to permit the

the earl to comply with this overture, yet he could not, with any appearance of equity, detain the Iriſh chieftain from his immediate intereſts. Fedlim was diſmiſſed with his provincials, amuſing the earl with aſſurances of his return, ſo ſoon as the diſorders of his territories ſhould be compoſed. The northern Irith, unacquainted with his ſecret tranſactions with Bruce, and regarding him as an enemy, harraſſed him inceſſantly through his whole march; and no ſooner had he reached a place of ſafety, than he had the mortification to find it neceſſary to diſmiſs his weakened and diſpirited followers, without attempting the recovery of his poſſeſſions, in which his rival was now too firmly eſtabliſhed [b].

He was ſoon followed into Connaught by the earl of Ulſter and the remaining part of his army, who had been obliged to retire before the northern and Scottiſh forces. As the general diſtreſs of famine prevented Bruce from purſuing his advantage, after ſome ineffectual progreſs he again retired, and remained unmoleſted in Ulſter, where he aſſumed the parade of royalty, and held courts of judicature, until new incidents enabled him to act a more vigorous and important part.

On the arrival of the earl of Ulſter in Connaught, the party which eſpouſed the cauſe of Fedlim immediately aſſembled, in full confidence that their chieftain would now receive effectual ſupport. An engagement happened ſoon after, which ended in the total defeat and death of Roderic, reinſtated Fedlim in his poſſeſſions, as well as the dignity of an Iriſh prince: but as gratitude had no place in his mind, his firſt ſtep, after his re-eſtabliſhment, was to declare in favour of the Scottiſh intereſt, and to draw the ſword againſt his deliverers. The example was inſtantly followed by O'Brien of Thomond, with other Iriſh chieftains of Munſter and Meath. Agents were every where employed to foment the ſpirit of inſurrection: the clergy extolled Bruce as the protector and deliverer of their country; inveighed bitterly againſt the Engliſh government, and exhorted the laity to take arms againſt the common enemies of the church and people. Meanwhile, Edward Bruce was ſolemnly crowned at Dundalk. To enable him to maintain his dignity, his brother Robert landed in Ireland with a powerful army; and though the general dearth and ſeverity of the ſeaſon obliged him to return before he could perform any ſignal ſervice, yet the

Edward Bruce is crowned king of Ireland.

[b] Cox.

forces which he left behind him were no inconſiderable aid to his brother; who alſo derived farther ſuccours from a conflux of diſcontented Iriſh, with numbers even of the Engliſh, among whom were the Laceys and their followers. The town of Carricfergus, which had had long ſupported the moſt vigorous aſſault of the Scottiſh troops, now ſurrendered to Bruce; who, quitting his deſolated quarters in the remoter diſtricts of Ulſter, marched ſouthward with an army diſpoſed for the moſt bloody hoſtilities.

Meanwhile the Engliſh lords, alarmed at the danger which threatened their own poſſeſſions as well as the realm, proceeded to the moſt effectual meaſures in their power to repel the invaſion. Several of the moſt diſtinguiſhed among them entered into an aſſociation to ſupport the intereſts of king Edward with their lives and fortunes, and gave hoſtages to Hotham, his commiſſioner, as a ſurety for their allegiance. An army was detached into Connaught, againſt Fedlim O'Connor, who collecting his forces, advanced, with the ſpirit of a warlike young chieftain, to give them battle. The contending parties met near the town of Athunree, where a deſperate engagement was at length determined in favour of the Engliſh; and Fedlim, with a great number of his troops, was ſlain.

Edward Bruce, notwithſtanding the loſs of his confederate, proceeded in his enterprize, and continued his deſtructive progreſs, without reſtraint or moleſtation, to the very walls of Dublin. Hither the earl of Ulſter had retired; and in this time of fear and ſuſpicion, his former inactive conduct, added to the circumſtance of his ſiſter's being married to Robert king of Scotland, raiſed ſuch apprehenſions of his ſecret diſloyalty, that the chief magiſtrate of the city ſeized and impriſoned him; nor could all the authority of the Engliſh government immediately procure his releaſe. To guard againſt Bruce, who was now at hand, the citizens ſet fire to the ſuburbs with ſuch precipitation, that their cathedral did not eſcape the fury of the flames; and retiring within their walls, they made ſuch preparations for a vigorous defence, that the Scottiſh prince deemed it expedient to turn aſide towards the territory of Kildare; through which he marched with terrible devaſtation, under the direction of Walter de Lucey, who had but juſt now ſolemnly diſavowed all connexion with that invader, and renewed his oath of allegiance to the crown of England. Traverſing the territory of Oſſory, he penetrated into Munſter, and ſpread havock and conſternation over the whole country.

In

In the time of such distress and confusion, it was with the utmost difficulty that the friends of the government could collect a force sufficient to oppose the progress of Bruce. An army, said to consist of thirty thousand men, was at length assembled at Kilkenny: the Geraldines, who had now forgotten all their private jealousies and contests with other potent families, prepared to march out against the ravager. The motions of his enemies were not unknown to Bruce; who, conscious of his own real weakness, determined to avoid an engagement. He had no other resource but to lead his harrassed army back to Ulster. By forced marches, they arrived unmolested, in Meath; and, halting for some days in the neighbourhood of Trim, thence proceeded to their northern quarters. The English forces were unable to pursue the enemy so far through a desolated country. The new governor, therefore, dismissed his army; and, repairing to Dublin, summoned a convention of the nobles to deliberate on the measures necessary to be taken. Having consulted with this assembly, and prevailed on the magistrates to release the earl of Ulster from his confinement, he proceeded to Meath, where he endeavoured to compose the disorders of that district, and particularly to reduce the proud and rebellious family of de Lucey. They were formally cited to appear, and defend themselves against the charge of a treasonable correspondence with the king's enemies. But instead of submitting to a judicial examination, they treated the summons as an indignity, and slew the messenger by whom it was delivered. To revenge this outrage, their lands were ravaged, and seized, and they themselves driven for shelter into Connaught, where they waited a favourable opportunity to unite once more with their Scottish ally [c].

The English interest seemed now to revive under a spirited and well supported government, while the affairs of the invaders became every day more desperate. The sentence of excommunication was thundered from the papal chair against all the enemies of king Edward. Robert and Edward Bruce were excommunicated by name. The same dreadful sentence was denounced against the Irish clergy of every order, who had preached with so much zeal to excite their countrymen to insurrection. Meanwhile, the distresses of Edward Bruce, in his state of inactive retirement, rose to a degree of suffering, horrible to be related. His unhappy followers daily fell in great

[c] Hanmer.

numbers, under the accumulated oppreſſion of diſeaſe and famine. Their carcaſſes, we are aſſured, became the ſubſiſtence of the wretched ſurvivors. In thoſe parts of the kingdom where agriculture had not been totally interrupted, the return of a fruitful ſeaſon proved a critical relief, and enabled the Engliſh to reſume their military operations. On the return of Mortimer to England, the archbiſhops of Caſhel and Dublin were ſucceſſively deputed to the adminiſtration. The latter prelate aſſigned the command of the forces deſtined againſt the Scots, to Sir John Bermingham, who marched into Ulſter, with ſeveral diſtinguiſhed officers in his train, and about fifteen hundred choſen troops. Bruce, after all his loſſes, had ſtill an army more than double of this number; and weak and diſordered as they were, their leader continued to proſecute his enterprize with unabated ardour. He is ſaid to have received advice that his brother Robert was on the point of coming to his aſſiſtance; when, jealous of admitting him to ſhare the glory of his atchievements, he purpoſely haſtened his march to have the honour of deciding the conteſt by his own valour and ſkill. The two parties met near Dundalk. The Scots and their aſſociates, animated with the hope of putting a happy end to their diſtreſſes, and encouraged by the impetuous valour of their leader, were impatient to encounter an enemy who had often fled before them. The Engliſh, conducted by an able general, well provided and appointed, were equally impatient to exterminate thoſe invaders who had ſo ſeverely harraſſed and diſtreſſed the whole nation. The archbiſhop of Armagh, a zealous partizan of the Engliſh intereſts, went through their ranks, exhorting them to diſplay their valour on an occaſion ſo important to the future ſafety of their country; diſtributing, at the ſame time, his benedictions, and pronouncing abſolution on all thoſe who ſhould fall in a cauſe ſo juſt and honourable. After a violent conflict, which was ſuſtained on each ſide with great bravery, the enfeebled northern troops received a total defeat. The body of Maupas, a brave Engliſh knight, who had ruſhed into the ranks to encounter Edward Bruce, was found ſtretched on that of his antagoniſt, who had fallen by his arm. Robert Bruce arrived with his forces only to hear of the defeat of his brother, and inſtantly retired.

A. D. 1318.

Such was the iſſue of this Scottiſh invaſion; an enterprize raſhly undertaken by an aſpiring young prince, who, for almoſt three years, had purſued, through danger and variety of diſtreſs, the wild ſcheme of his ambition; involving

volving in calamity the nation which he sought to govern, and closing, by his own untimely end, the numerous misfortunes which his fatal thirst of empire had occasioned.

CHAP. II.

From the Accession of Edward III. to the Arrival of Pounings, appointed Lord-deputy by Henry VII.

A.D. 1327. Edward III.

ON the accession of Edward III. the great lords of the English race, and the Irish chieftains, continued to pursue, as before, their several schemes of private interest or ambition, without regard to the royal authority, much less to the delegated power of the Irish vicegerent. The unhappy people, groaning under the oppression of a proud and rapacious aristocracy, addressed themselves once more to the throne of England, and petitioned that the Irish inhabitants should be admitted to the state and privileges of English subjects, without obliging individuals to sue for special charters. The petition, as usual, was remitted to the chief governor, who was directed to refer it to the Irish parliament, and again in the end it proved abortive [a].

The resentment of the Irish, now too justly provoked, broke out into an insurrection, projected with greater concert, and executed with more violence, than for some time had been experienced. O'Brien, the chieftain of Thomond, was chosen leader of the insurgents; and under his standard some powerful septs of Leinster determined to execute their vengeance. The flame of war soon spread to Meath and Munster, and the first successes of the Irish inflamed their vengeance to the most outrageous violence. In their triumphant progress, we are told that they surrounded a church, where about fourscore persons of the English race were assembled at their devotions. The unhappy congregation, too sensible of the cruelty of the enemy, petitioned only that the priest might be suffered to depart unmolested; but the merciless ruffians, instead of complying with this affecting supplication, were only provoked to make the priest the very first victim of their cruelty. The Host, which he held forth, in hopes that the awful object might have some influence upon their minds, was torn from him, and spurned under foot. With furious ardor, they plunged their daggers into his body; and the church, with all the miserable people it contained, was destroyed by fire [b].

[a] Hanmer. [b] Ibid, Ware.

The terror excited by ſuch horrible outrages, drove thoſe who were moſt expoſed to the fury of the barbarians to an obſtinate and deſperate defence. The citizens of Wexford had the good fortune to repel them with conſiderable ſlaughter. James Butler, lately created earl of Ormónd, was active, not only in defending his own territory, but in diſtreſſing and purſuing the inſurgents. The lord-juſtice himſelf was obliged to take the field, and ſucceſsfully encountered the moſt dangerous of the Leinſter enemies.

In order to ſecure the fidelity and aſſiſtance of ſome of the moſt potent chiefs, at this time, the government had recourſe to an expedient which conſiderably weakened the royal authority. No leſs than nine palatines were eſtabliſhed in the kingdom by charter: Carlow, Wexford, Kilkenny, Kildare, and Leix, the portions of the five coheireſſes of the family of earl Mariſhal, thoſe of Meath and Ulſter, and thoſe of the earls of Deſmond and Ormond. Thoſe abſolute palatines had the privilege of making barons and knights; held courts for criminal and civil cauſes, in the ſame form in which the king's courts were eſtabliſhed at Dublin. The land was in effect parcelled out to a number of rival princes, zealous only to aggrandize their own power, which was beſt accompliſhed by the weakneſs and diſtreſſes of the chief governor.

Meanwhile, O'Brien, leader of the Iriſh inſurgents, not yet ſubdued, gave full employment both to the Engliſh councils, and to the troops ſent out to oppoſe him. Sir Anthony Lucy, now appointed to the government, ſuſpected that the inſurgents were ſecretly abetted by ſome great lords of the Engliſh race; and being confirmed in his opinion by ſufficient evidence, he reſolved to ſtrike at the very root of the abuſe. He ſeized the earl of Deſmond, Mandeville, Walter de Burgo and his brother, with William and Walter Bermingham. The evidence againſt William Bermingham was full and forcible. He was condemned and executed; and his brother eſcaped only by his privilege as an eccleſiaſtic. Deſmond, who had been obliged to ſubmit to the vigour of the preſent governor's adminiſtration, after a long confinement, was diſcharged on great ſurety, and ſent into England.

The utmoſt exertion of the chief governor could not have proved equal to this impartial and ſpirited execution of juſtice, had not king Edward at this time diſcovered a more than ordinary attention to his Iriſh intereſts, and declared his deſign of viſiting the realm. Some ſalutary ordinances were tranſmitted, for the more regular and

effectual

effectual execution of the English laws. These were soon followed, first, by a resumption of all Irish grants made in his reign during the power of Mortimer and his mother; and soon after, by a mandate to the earls of Ulster and Ormond, sir William and sir Walter de Burgo, to repair to the English court, in order to concert the measures necessary for the king's voyage, and to accompany him to Ireland. All those barons of the realm of England who enjoyed lands in Ireland were also summoned for the same purpose. And though the term fixed for this expedition was prolonged, yet an order for arresting all ships in the ports of Ireland, and sending them to Holyhead for the convenience of his passage, and another for impressing a number of Welsh infantry to attend him, seemed to indicate a settled purpose of complying with the desires of his parliament, and engaging in the reduction of Ireland; yet all this was nothing more than a specious pretence for demanding supplies. The only measure now taken for the regulation of Ireland was that inglorious and impolitic one of treating with the disturbers of government. The prior of Kilmainham was commissioned to enter into such conventions with all insurgents both of the English and Irish race, as he should judge most expedient for the peace of the kingdom. The great lords received orders to assist him by their advice and countenance; and the sheriffs of the several counties and liberties were instructed to take care, that the conferences which should be held for this purpose should be duly protected. Thus were the turbulent and disaffected taught their own real power, and the weakness of that government which attempted to controul them. Precarious accommodations were readily concluded; and the king received into his favour a number of secret enemies, whose perverse dispositions were thus cherished, instead of being broken by a firm and vigorous authority.

This imprudent condescension of the government was soon followed by an event, which involved the kingdom in fresh commotions; that of the death of the earl of Ulster, who was treacherously assassinated by his own servants at Carrickfergus[a]. His countess, with her infant daughter, fled in the utmost consternation into England, and the vast demesnes of this illustrious family were left without any sufficient defender. By the law of England, the earl's lands should have been taken into the protection A.D. 1333.

[a] Excerp. ex Ann. Clyn. MS.

of

of the king, as guardian to the infant ward; but this law was of little force againſt the violence of old claimants. The northern ſept of O'Neal, in which all national animoſities were revived by this event, ſeized the occaſion of recovering their ancient power, roſe ſuddenly in arms, and, paſſing the river Bann, fell furiouſly upon the Engliſh ſettlers eſtabliſhed by the family of de Burgo. Notwithſtanding a brave and obſtinate reſiſtance, the Engliſh were in proceſs of time extirpated, or at leaſt confined within very narrow bounds.

In proportion as the Engliſh were broken by invaſion, or divided by faction, the old natives became more turbulent. Accommodations ſlightly made, were as readily violated; and while the open enemy was in arms, the king's vicegerent had a number of ſecret enemies, of the Engliſh race, whoſe views and motions it was neceſſary that he ſhould watch and controul. It became indiſpenſable to ſeize and confine two of the noble houſe of de la Poer. Nicholas Fitz-Maurice of Kerry, who avowed his attachment to the Iriſh of Munſter, was made priſoner by his kinſman Deſmond, and confined for life; while Kildare, with equal vigilance and ſpirit, chaſtiſed thoſe who had diſturbed the peace of Leinſter. But the rigorous meaſures now purſued by Edward, ſerved to inflame diſcontents, and extend diviſion among the lords of the Engliſh race. Diſappointed of the pecuniary ſupplies which he had expected from Ireland, he at once reſolved on the moſt violent and offenſive meaſures againſt his ſubjects of that kingdom. He began with declaring, that all ſuſpenſions or remiſſions of debts due to the crown, either in his own time or that of his predeceſſors, (except thoſe which had the ſanction of the great ſeal) ſhould be void; and the debts ſtrictly levied without delay; in conſideration, as he alleged, of his preſent neceſſities. He next proceeded to a more extenſive and vigorous reſumption of all grants, made not by himſelf only, but by his father. Thoſe to the prior of Kilmainham, were ſpecifically mentioned. The juſtices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, Mountpeſſon and Baggot, were diſmiſſed from their offices. The treaſurer of the Exchequer, who claimed a privilege to diſpoſe of ſmall ſums without voucher, was not only prohibited for the future, but obliged to account for ſuch ſums from the beginning of the preſent reign. But the moſt violent and offenſive of all the new regulations, was an ordinance, enjoining that all ſuch perſons in the king's ſervice in Ireland, as had no poſſeſſions in

England, ſhould be immediately removed from their offices. Thus were the deſcendants of thoſe who had originally gained the Engliſh acquiſitions in Ireland, who had laboured in a long courſe of painful and hazardous ſervice to maintain them, and who had often ſpilt their blood in the cauſe of their ſovereign, pronounced indiſcriminately to be dangerous ſubjects, and declared incapable of filling any, even the meaneſt depatment in adminiſtration.

Whatever conceptions Edward had formed of the old Engliſh inhabitants, they were too ſpirited to endure the loſs of their lands, and the perſonal indignities put upon them, with an abject reſignation. The late emigrants from England triumphed over the old race, as they had all forfeited their privileges, and were conſolidated with thoſe Iriſh who had been reduced by their arms. The old Engliſh, on the other hand, beheld, with impatience and indignation, the partiality ſhown to thoſe who boaſted of having drawn their firſt breath in England. Jealouſy and diſſenſion were thus excited among thoſe who ſtill adhered to the Engliſh government; and the conſequences were the more alarming, as the injured part of the king's Iriſh ſubjects was by far the moſt powerful, and their ſupport even neceſſary to the exiſtence of the royal authority in Ireland. Being thus eſſentially injured, their reſentment threatened ſome violent and dangerous commotion. A common cauſe readily diſpoſed them to a general combination; and their violence was ſo much dreaded, that the chief governor, ſir John Morris, deemed it neceſſary to ſummon a parliament at Dublin on this critical occaſion.

The ſpirited Geraldines were particularly irritated, and eſpouſed the cauſe of their brethren the old Engliſh with extraordinary zeal. Deſmond, alike proud and powerful, flew through all his numerous partizans of the South. Kildare, his kinſman and aſſociate, was equally active. So that at the time when the parliament was to meet at Dublin, Morris was alarmed at the intelligence of another independent aſſembly, more numerous and reſpectable, convened by Deſmond at Kilkenny. They ſtyled themſelves the prelates, nobles, and commons of the land; were the more formidable as they affected to aſſemble peaceably, and prepared a remonſtrance to be tranſmitted to the king. This memorial exhibits a ſtriking view of the irregularities in the adminiſtration, and the grievances which had for ſome time inflamed the public diſſenſions. The king's anſwer was now gracious and condeſcending. He informed them that the grants of his progenitors ſhould be reſtored

flored without diminution; that thoſe made in his own reign ſhould alſo be delivered up, on ſufficient ſurety that they ſhould be again ſurrendered, if, in a legal inquiſition, they were found reſumable, as granted without juſt cauſe; and that the pardons of debts ſhould be deemed valid, until the cauſes of ſuch pardons ſhould be duly tried.

Whether the royal intentions for the redreſs of grievances were defeated by the adminiſtration of the Iriſh government, or whether the pride of the old nobility of Engliſh race was not yet ſatisfied by thoſe condeſcenſions, faction continued [b]. Such as had been born in Ireland ſtill retained their jealouſies and diſcontents againſt the moſt favoured part of their fellow-ſubjects, who had lately migrated from England; while the Iriſh ſepts of Leinſter, taking advantage of diſſenſion, roſe, as uſual, in arms, and harraſſed the province. Edward, by confining his attention to the vaſt ſchemes which he had formed againſt France, had encouraged theſe diſorders, which required an active and ſpirited chief governor to ſuppreſs. Sir Ralph de Ufford, a man of this character, was entruſted with the adminiſtration, and paſſed into Ireland, poſſeſſed with the utmoſt indignation both againſt the Iriſh inſurgents and the diſcontented Engliſh. He inſtantly commanded the marchers, whoſe duty it was to guard the Engliſh ſettlements from invaſion, to repair to their reſpective ſtations: he proclaimed it in the higheſt degree penal to convey proviſions, horſes, or arms, to the enemy; and he ſtrictly enjoined, that wherever the attack was made, it ſhould be conſidered as a general injury, and that all ſhould inſtantly unite to repel the common danger.

The attention of Ufford was not confined to the ſuppreſſion of Iriſh enemies. Deſmond, the head of the diſcontented Engliſh, was ſummoned to attend a parliament in Dublin, as a teſt of his attachment to the king's government, which he often affected to deſpiſe, and to which he paid at moſt but an occaſional obedience. The earl proudly ſlighted the mandate, and ſummoned an aſſembly of his own at Calan. Ufford, firm to his purpoſe, iſſued a proclamation, by which the nobles and commons were forbidden at their peril to attend this unlawful aſſembly; while to enforce this order, collected his troops, and marched into Munſter as againſt a declared enemy. He poſſeſſed himſelf of the earl's lands, ſeized and executed ſome of

[b] Camden. Davis.

his principal dependents, and by the vigour of his operations, so surprised and terrified this refractory lord, that the latter thought it necessary to submit; offered to abide a fair trial for any disloyalty objected to him, and found several sureties of distinguished rank and character to answer for his appearance. The earl of Kildare, equally obnoxious to the governor, was next attacked as a disaffected and rebellious subject, and with some difficulty reduced, taken, and imprisoned; to the no small terror and confusion of those great lords of the English race, who had so long despised the weakness of the government.

The vigour of this chief-governor might have proved effectual in quelling the disobedient both of the Irish and English race, but a sudden death put an end to his spirited and successful administration. Sir John Morris, the new vicegerent, acted with greater lenity. He released Kildare from prison, and, when a violent insurrection in Ulster determined the king to substitute Roger Darcy first, and afterwards Walter de Bermingham, in his room, Desmond was again emboldened to appear and remonstrate against the wrongs he alleged to have received from Ufford. Bermingham warmly espoused his cause, and sent him into England to seek redress from the throne. No season could have been more favourable to his application. Edward was now on the point of embarking on his glorious expedition into France, and was solicitous to engage in his service a nobleman of such extensive following, such powerful connexions, and such great popularity in Ireland. Desmond's complaints were accordingly received with the most gracious attention: he was assured of a speedy restoration of his lands; was in the mean time taken into the king's pay; and attended that monarch, with a considerable train, into France. By the gracious manner of his reception, the earl of Kildare was afterwards induced to follow his example, and greatly distinguished himself by his valour at the siege of Calais.

By the attention of Edward to prohibit the great lords of Ireland from departing the kingdom at their pleasure, to the utter desertion of their duties and offices; but, above all, by the favour shown the earls of Desmond and Kildare, the peace of the English territories was for some time preserved from any extensive or dangerous commotion; and the king's deputies were left to summon parliaments, and devise means for correcting the abuses and degeneracy of the English inhabitants. But while the royal authority applied remedies to one disorder, others

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were ever ready to break out, and elude all the exertion of government. A mutual animoſity ſtill prevailed between the old Engliſh and thoſe who were newly arrived, and they were ever ready to invade and harraſs each other. By the alliances which they formed with the Iriſh families, many of them were detached from the intereſts of their brethren, and entered into prejudicial connections. To guard againſt the treacherous ſubtlety of the Iriſh, and to cut off that dangerous correſpondence which the growing degeneracy of the Engliſh had encouraged, it was enjoined by royal mandate, that no more Iriſhmen ſhould be admitted into any office or truſt in any borough or caſtle; and that no biſhop or prior, under the king's dominion, ſhould admit any of this race to an eccleſiaſtical benefice, or into any religious houſe, on any pretence whatever [e].

A people divided, and diſcontented, engaged by their petty factions and competitions, could not even repel the aſſaults of the common enemy, much leſs recover thoſe extenſive tracts, from which they had been gradually ejected by the old natives. O'Nial from the North, and O'Brien from the South, made dreadful inroads on the Engliſh ſettlements, watched every advantage, and fomented and aſſiſted the inſurrections of other Iriſh chieftains, while a perpetual ſtate of war oppreſſed and waſted the country. The Engliſh, by their inteſtine animoſities, rendered themſelves a continual prey to the rancour of the Iriſh inhabitants; and the latter, on the other hand, from a want of concert and union, were prevented from demoliſhing the whole fabric of Engliſh power by one general and deciſive aſſault.

Edward beheld with impatience theſe complicated diſorders of his Iriſh dominions; and determined to purſue ſome vigorous meaſures, both for ſubduing the Iriſh, and reforming his Engliſh ſubjects. Lord Lionel, his ſecond ſon, had been affianced in his tender years to Elizabeth, daughter of the late earl of Ulſter, and claimed, in right of his wife, that earldom, as well as the lordſhip of Connaught. In all theſe diſtricts writs had, for many years, ran in the prince's name. But this was little more than a formal exerciſe of authority, not generally acknowleged or obeyed, as the Iriſh chieftains of Connaught and Tirowen had repoſſeſſed themſelves of the greater part of the lands which the earl had enjoyed, and were ſtill labouring to extirpate the remains of the Engliſh tenantry. The in-

[e] Davis.

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terests of his son, therefore, as well as the general welfare of the Irish dominions, determined Edward to consign the government of Ireland to Lionel, with such powers as might give weight and dignity to his administration, and such a force as might enable him to carry on his military operations with vigour and success. With a solemnity which seemed the prelude to some great design, the king's writs were issued to all those nobles of England, of either sex, who held lands in Ireland, summoning them to appear, either in person or by proxy, before the king and council, to deliberate on the measures necessary for the defence of that realm, and, in the mean time, to hold all the force they could command in readiness to attend his son. A royal proclamation was also issued in the several counties of England, that all those of inferior rank who held lands in Ireland, should repair thither to the prince's service. About fifteen hundred men were thus collected. Lord Lionel was attended by Ralph, earl of Stafford, James, earl of Ormond, sir John Carew, sir William Windsore, and other knights and persons of distinction. A.D. 1361.

This troop, small as it may be deemed in these times, yet, if duly supported by the great lords of Ireland, might have proved of considerable service in repelling and subduing the Irish insurgents. But lord Lionel passed into Ireland with great prepossessions against the inhabitants. He was taught to regard the old English settlers, indiscriminately, as unworthy of his confidence, and utterly disaffected to his father's interests and government. Surrounded by the faction of English birth, he naturally adopted their passions, listened to their suggestions, and strictly forbade, by proclamation, all the old English, or any of the king's subjects of Irish birth, to approach his camp [f]. By this imprudent measure he offended the most powerful party in the kingdom, who, while they justly complained of this ungenerous return to the services of their ancestors and their own, could not but look with contempt on the infatuated policy which deprived their new governor of the only assistance that could render his operations effectual. The prince was thus left with those of the English birth, to traverse a strange country, without advice or direction; and to attack an enemy of whose character and manner of war they were entirely ignorant. The prince, having first determined to quell the ravagers

[f] Cox ex Arch. Tur. Lond.

of the Engliſh province of Leinſter, bent his force againſt the chieftain of Thomond, their principal ſupporter. He marched forward without guidance or intelligence; the enemy hovered about his camp, ſuddenly diſappeared, and again renewed their deſultory aſſaults. His troops were perplexed, and their progreſs ſlow. One of his advanced parties was ſurpriſed and attacked with ſuch ſucceſs, that a conſiderable number fell upon the field of action, and, to increaſe his mortification, numbers of his ſoldiers deſerted to the enemy. Incidents ſo alarming obliged the prince to change his conduct. The old Engliſh were invited and required by proclamation to attend his ſtandard; while his father, by a ſecond proclamation, in which the perilous ſituation of lord Lionel was minutely deſcribed, commanded all thoſe nobles of the Engliſh nation, who had not yet obeyed his former order, to repair without delay to Ireland, and join the prince's troops, on pain of forfeiture of all their lands and poſſeſſions. The invitation to the ſubjects of Ireland, of the old Engliſh race, had a ſpeedy and more ſalutary effect. They reſorted in great numbers to the duke of Clarence (for this title had now been conferred on lord Lionel), and, by their aſſiſtance, he gained conſiderable advantages over the enemy.

After ſome ſucceſsful expeditions, but which were magnified by his flatterers, he returned in triumph to the ſeat of government, and conferred the honour of knighthood on ſeveral of his followers. Such favourable ſentiments were conceived of his adminiſtration, and ſo great expectations entertained of his ſucceſs againſt the Iriſh enemy, that the king's ſubjects, both laity and clergy, voluntarily granted him two years value of their revenues to defray the war. The duke, however, was ſoon recalled, and left Ireland in a ſtate of diſſenſion. Engliſh by birth, and Engliſh by deſcent, were become terms of odious diſtinction, and every day produced violences, which at length became ſo conſiderable, as to require the immediate interpoſition of the king. He commanded that no Engliſh ſubject born in England, or in Ireland, ſhould cauſe diſſenſion, or uſe opprobrious language towards each other, under the penalty of impriſonment for two years.

Clarence was ſucceeded by the earl of Ormond, who again reſigned to the duke; and the latter as ſuddenly left the adminiſtration to ſir Thomas Dale, an Engliſh knight, of too little conſequence to extinguiſh the diſſenſions of the Engliſh, much leſs to unite them in any ſervice of

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real moment. In 1367, Clarence was once more ſent over to ſtem the torrent of diſorder, by the authority of his ſtation. He was this time too well acquainted with the circumſtances of the country, not to know that the firſt object of his care ſhould be the reformation of the Engliſh ſettlers; and to this great work he induſtriouſly applied himſelf. A parliament was ſummoned to meet at Kilkenny: a number of prelates, with the temporal lords and commons, chearfully attended: both eſtates ſat together; and the reſult of their deliberations was that ordinance, known by the name of the ſtatute of Kilkenny. A.D. 1367.

By this ſtatute it was enacted, that marriage, nurture of infants, and goſſipry with the Iriſh, ſhould be conſidered and puniſhed as high-treaſon: that, if any man of Engliſh race ſhould uſe an Iriſh name, the Iriſh language, or the Iriſh apparel, or any mode or cuſtom of the Iriſh, he ſhall forfeit lands and tenements, until he give ſecurity in the court of chancery to conform in every particular to Engliſh manners; or, if he have no lands, that he ſhall be impriſoned until the like ſecurity be given. It was ordained, that, in all their controverſies, they ſhould be governed by the common law of England; and that whoever ſhould ſubmit to the Iriſh juriſdiction, was to be adjudged guilty of high-treaſon. It was alſo made highly penal to the Engliſh, to permit their Iriſh neighbours to graze in their lands, to preſent them to eccleſiaſtical benefices, or to receive them into monaſteries or religious houſes; to entertain their bards, who perverted their imaginations by romantic tales; or their news-tellers, who ſeduced them by falſe reports. The ſtatute was promulged with particular ſolemnity; and the ſpiritual lords, the better to enforce obedience, denounced an excommunication on thoſe who ſhould preſume to violate it in any inſtance [e].

Such were the inſtitutions of this aſſembly, quoted in Ireland with reverence, and confirmed in after-times as of the moſt ſalutary influence. But liberal ſentiments, extenſive policy, and a generous zeal for public happineſs, were ſtill wanting to thoſe prejudiced and inexperienced legiſlators. Pride and ſelf-intereſt concurred in regarding and repreſenting the Iriſh as a race utterly irreclaimable. The effects of violent oppreſſion were readily miſtaken for the outrages of a natural cruelty and barbariſm. The taſk of reclaiming thoſe natives might indeed have

[e] Cox.

proved difficult, but was not impracticable. The name of a renowned monarch in England, and the preſence of his ſon in Ireland, the huſband of a lady of Iriſh birth, and of an illuſtrious family, an heireſs of vaſt poſſeſſions, were circumſtances highly favourable to a generous ſcheme, the equity of which might warrant its enforcement, by military vigour, againſt the moſt deſperate and abandoned. But the opportunity was now loſt; nor was it recovered for ages.

Neverthelefs, the rank and number of the perſons who appeared in the convention at Kilkenny, which was the moſt reſpectable legiſlative aſſembly that had hitherto ever been held in Ireland; the ſolemnity with which theſe laws were promulged; the ſevere penalties by which they were enforced; the preſence of the royal governor, with his laudable attention to preſerve diſcipline, and to prevent grievances within the ſphere of his authority, had no inconſiderable effect. The old Engliſh were reſtrained, and, in ſome degree, reformed; and the conſequences appeared in the increaſe of the revenue, and the ſuſpenſion of thoſe petty hoſtilities which the Engliſh lords had uſually maintained againſt each other.

On the departure of the duke of Clarence, the government was entruſted to the young earl of Deſmond, under whoſe adminiſtration the ſtate was once more embroiled by the violences of the family of Bermingham. This commotion the new lord-juſtice endeavoured in vain to ſuppreſs: he was obliged to treat with theſe ravagers as with a foreign power, and to terminate hoſtilities by an exchange of priſoners; while the Iriſh chieftains of Thomond and Connaught entered into a formal confederacy, that threatened a dangerous inſurrection to government. This alarming proſpect determined king Edward to renew his orders to all thoſe who abſented themſelves from their Iriſh lands, to repair to that country. A parliament was ſummoned to deliberate on the meaſures moſt effectual for the ſecurity of the king's Iriſh dominions; and ſir William Windſore, an Engliſh knight, who had ſerved under the duke of Clarence, was appointed the king's lieutenant. In the parliament which he convened at Kilkenny, a ſubſidy of three thouſand pounds, and another of two thouſand, in a following ſeſſion, were granted for the ſupport of the war againſt the Iriſh. While this aſſembly was deliberating, the forces of O'Brien and O'Connor were in the field, without any army to oppoſe them, but ſuch troops as the borderers and neighbouring lords of Munſter

Munſter could collect. The earl of Deſmond, who was the firſt ro riſe up againſt the enemy, encountered them near the monaſtery of Mayo, where himſelf was ſlain, and his army received a total defeat. The lieutenant, on receiving intelligence of this diſaſter, determined to lead his forces into the South; but the enemy had, after their victory, retired as uſual to their inacceſſible haunts, and left Windſore to make war on ſome inferior chieftains. To reſtrain theſe numerous inſurrections, by which every part of the Engliſh territories was perpetually infeſted, the influence not only of the powerful Engliſh, but the well-affected Iriſh, was employed. Several of theſe were engaged and paid by the king to watch the motions of their countrymen, and to oppoſe their violences.

On the departure of Windſore, Maurice, earl of Kildare, ſucceeded to the adminiſtration of a turbulent and diſordered ſtate. So conſiderable was the progreſs of the Iriſh natives, and ſuch extenſive tracts had they recovered from the Engliſh ſettlers, that the king was obliged to exonerate from ſcutage the lands which they had ſeized, and to direct that this ſervice ſhould be charged only upon thoſe which the Engliſh ſtill retained in poſſeſſion. Such conceptions had been formed of the diſordered ſtate of Ireland, that they who had obtained territorial grants in that country could neither be perſuaded to repair thither, nor to ſend any perſons to the cuſtody of their lands, notwithſtanding the repeated injunctions of the king; and the increaſing tumults under the government of ſir Robert Aſhton, ſucceſſor to Kildare, ſerved to confirm men in thoſe ſentiments. When ſir Richard Pembridge, warden of the Cinque Ports, had been appointed to the government of Ireland, he ſhuddered at the thought of ruling in a country overſpread with barbarians. He refuſed to execute his commiſſion; and it was adjudged, that this refuſal was ſtrictly legal; for that reſidence in Ireland, even in the ſtation aſſigned to him, was but an honourable exile; and that no man could, by law, be forced to abandon his country, except in caſe of abjuration for felony, or by act of parliament. The adminiſtration of Iriſh affairs was therefore again aſſigned to ſir William Windſore, though his former government had not been unimpeached. He was even allowed to dictate the conditions on which he would accept the office. But neither the vigilance, nor ſucceſs, of this governor correſponded with the expectations entertained of him. Far from repreſſing the neighbouring inſurgents, he could not even

procure the neceſſary information of their haunts. For ſecuring the Engliſh ſettlements, he was obliged to hire the Iriſh chieftains to oppoſe their countrymen. When the ſtipulated price was at any time delayed, they inſtantly roſe in arms with double fury, and forced a prompt payment from the exchequer. The ſame ſyſtem was continued during the adminiſtration of the earl of Ormond, ſucceſſor to Windſore. A precarious peace was thus purchaſed from the Iriſh, and perpetually violated by their faithleſs and precipitate inſurrections.

During this diſordered ſtate of Ireland, the Engliſh intereſt gradually declined; and the connections of the king's ſubjects with the original inhabitants, occaſioned by their vicinity and neceſſary intercourſe, obliged the king to relax, in many caſes, the ſeverity of the ſtatutes of Kilkenny[f].

A.D.1377. *Richard II.* The acceſſion of Richard II. had no immediate effect upon the affairs of Ireland. The Iriſh, in the remote diſtricts, ſtill continued their hoſtilities, which had been ſuſpended, or reſumed, as their particular intereſts directed. Thus, by ſurpriſing and harraſſing the Engliſh diſtricts, they forced the inhabitants to abandon their lands, or to hold them in vaſſalage to the Iriſh; ſo as to increaſe the public grievance, ariſing from the deſertion and degeneracy of the Engliſh, and gradually to confine the royal territories within narrower bounds. The diſtricts more contiguous to the ſeat of Engliſh government were with difficulty maintained; and perpetually diſturbed by inſurrections, which could not be ſuppreſſed by the power, nor prevented by the penſions, of the crown. But the ſituation of king Richard, the weakneſs of his underſtanding, and the violence of his paſſions, ſoon produced an extraordinary change in the government of Ireland. He reſigned himſelf implicitly to the direction of Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young nobleman of profligate manners, on whom he laviſhed every mark of royal favour. Richard not only created him marquis of Dublin, but granted him, and his heirs, the entire dominion of Ireland, to be held of the crown by liege-homage. Thoſe lands and cities formerly reſerved to the crown, and thoſe hereditary to the nobles and barons of Ireland, were indeed excepted; and the earl was bound, as ſoon as he ſhould complete the conqueſt of the kingdom, to pay into the Engliſh exchequer annually, during his life, the ſum

[f] Davis.

of

of five thouſand marks. In every other particular, he had the entire dominion of the kingdom, was veſted with all the lands he ſhould gain by his arms, and empowered to appoint all officers of ſtate and juſtice, who were to act in his name, and by his authority.

The parliament, probably not diſpleaſed that this lord ſhould be employed at a diſtance from the king, made little difficulty of approving this important grant. They even conſented to give the marquis a debt of thirty thouſand marks, due by the king of France, provided he ſhould paſs over into Ireland, and effectually ſuppreſs the inſurrections which ſtill raged in many parts of the Engliſh counties [g]. Five hundred men at arms, and one thouſand archers, were granted him for this purpoſe, for two years; at the ſame time that his officers of ſtate, and council in Ireland, were employed in making the beſt proviſions for defence, which an exhauſted treaſury, and a diſtracted ſtate, could permit. The moſt ſanguine expectations were conceived of the ſucceſs that would ariſe from the preſence of a nobleman thus ſupported. He ſet out with a magnificent retinue, to take poſſeſſion of his Iriſh ſovereignty, and the king accompanied him in perſon; but when they had proceeded as far as Wales, and were on the point of ſeparating, Richard found his affection too violent to bear ſo ſevere a trial. The marquis returned to London; and the government of Ireland was committed to his deputies.

Richard, not ſatisfied with the honours he had already conferred on this minion, created him, by a patent, which was alſo confirmed by parliament, duke of Ireland; but, whether this deſignation was found too offenſive to be uſed in Ireland, it is certain, that even after this creation, his acts of ſtate in that kingdom were iſſued in the name of the marquis of Dublin. This parade of ſovereignty, however, proved of ſhort duration. Richard was now diveſted of the royal authority; and the duke of Ireland, after ſome ineffectual attempts to reſcue his royal maſter from the power of his haughty nobles, was defeated by the earl of Derby, and driven into the Low Countries. The king A.D. 1388.
was obliged to notify to his Iriſh miniſters, that the late marquis of Dublin had forfeited all his grants, and that no acts of ſtate were for the future to be executed under his ſignet; but that the whole adminiſtration of government was henceforth to be conducted in the name of the king.

[g] Arch. Tur. Lond.

The government of Ireland was now committed to deputies; firſt, to ſir John Stanley, and afterwards to the earl of Ormond, who, with ſuch aſſiſtance and ſupport as they could obtain, acted with becoming vigour, and not without ſucceſs. O'Nial, the powerful and turbulent enemy of the North, either tired of a ſtate of perpetual hoſtility, or deſirous to ſecure the poſſeſſions he had lately acquired by an advantageous treaty, ſurrendered both himſelf and his ſon to Stanley; and, with all the affected humiliation of a man deeply contrite for his oppoſition to Engliſh government, ſubmitted to the king's ſupremacy, and conſented to reſtore the duties which he received from Ulſter to the family of the earl of Ulſter, who formerly enjoyed them; giving hoſtages as a mark of his ſubmiſſion, and a ſurety of his future fidelity. Ormond was chiefly employed in quelling the inſurrections of the South; and his adminiſtration was diſtinguiſhed by a victory of ſome conſequence, obtained near Kilkenny, over a large body of Iriſh inſurgents.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſucceſſes, Ireland ſtill continued in a diſordered ſtate, and afforded a never-failing pretence to Richard for demanding ſubſidies from his parliament. This aſſembly, on the other hand, ceaſed not to inveigh againſt the irregularities of Iriſh adminiſtration, or to remonſtrate againſt the heavy burden of providing for the exigencies of ſtate, and maintaining the dominion of Ireland. Subſidies were demanded in the parliament of Ireland from particular counties moſt expoſed; and talliages and anticipations of the revenue were deviſed, to ſupply the preſſing exigencies of government. Still the great buſineſs of defence was weakly and imperfectly conducted; and Glouceſter, the king's uncle, made a tender of his ſervices, to repair to Ireland in perſon, and to labour for the general pacification of that diſordered country. Some forces were prepared, as well as the neceſſary proviſions made for the departure of this new viceroy. All men now expected an adminiſtration of extraordinary vigour; and the Iriſh chieftains, and their adherents, were ready to ſue for peace, when, at the very moment that the duke was to embark with all his train, he received a letter from his nephew, forbidding his departure, as the king had reſolved to make an expedition into Ireland in perſon, and to take that part of his dominions under his own immediate care.

The death of his beloved queen, which for a while ſuſpended Richard's preparations, at length determined him

to proceed on his expedition into Ireland; in order to fly from the ſcenes of their former intercourſe, and divert his melancholy, by the buſy occupations of war and government. In the month of October, 1394, Richard landed at Waterford, with an army conſiſting of four thouſand men at arms, and thirty thouſand archers; attended by the duke of Glouceſter, the earls of Nottingham and Rutland, and other diſtinguiſhed perſonages. A.D.1394.

The critical period ſeemed now to have arrived, which was to put an end to all the diſorders and diſtreſſes of the Iriſh nation. The chieftains of that kingdom were ſenſible of their own total inability to encounter the royal army. The Iriſh enemies of Leinſter concealed themſelves in their woods and mountains; whence, iſſuing occaſionally, they made ſome inconſiderable attacks on the advanced guards, or detached parties of the Engliſh; but ſoon convinced of their danger, and prompted by the example of their countrymen in other provinces, they ſued for peace, and offered to ſubmit, in the humbleſt manner, to the king. The inſurgents of Thomond and Ulſter were earneſt to avert the ſtorm, and readily conſented to make their ſubmiſſions. The ſeveral leaders did homage and fealty in all the forms of the ampleſt ſubmiſſion, on bended knees, with their heads uncovered, their arms laid aſide, and their girdles looſed; and the kiſs of peace, to which each was admitted by the lord-marſhal, confirmed the reconciliation. The number of Iriſh lords who now ſubmitted was no leſs than ſeventy-five; all of whom exerciſed a petty royalty within their reſpective diſtricts. The king treated the Iriſh chiefs with particular condeſcenſion, entertained them at his court, diſplayed all his magnificence before them, and ſtudied to reconcile them to the Engliſh manners [h].

The degenerate Engliſh who had united with the enemy, and of conſequence incurred the guilt of treaſon and rebellion, kept at a diſtance from the court, and employed agents to procure their pardon. Richard was aſſured, that their offence had been the reſult of oppreſſion and injuſtice; their allegations were, in many inſtances, well founded; and Richard was little diſpoſed to proſecute them with ſeverity. After a reſidence of nine months among his Iriſh ſubjects, he embarked for England, appointing Roger Mortimer, earl of Marche, his vicegerent.

[h] Davis. Cox.

The only ſtipulation which had been made was, that by which the Iriſh of Leinſter were bound to evacuate this province. It now came to be enforced; but the terror of a royal army once removed, it was found no eaſy matter to ſubdue the local attachments which poſſeſſed the hearts of the Iriſh. Pretences were invented, objections and difficulties ſuggeſted; and the peremptory requiſitions of government ſerved only to enrage theſe boiſterous natives, and drive them into inſurrections. Their hoſtilities were the more violent, as they had no reaſon to expect accommodation or pardon; and the governor the leſs provided to oppoſe them, as he had not apprehended ſo ſudden an infraction of the late treaty. The flame of war broke out at once in different quarters, and raged with deſtructive fury. The lieutenant, attended by the earl of Ormond, marched againſt the turbulent and powerful ſept of the O'Byrns, and drove them from their lands in Wicklow: but theſe inſurgents retired into Oſſory, and there obſtinately continued their hoſtilities. Mortimer purſued them with more bravery than circumſpection; was ſurpriſed, defeated, and ſlain upon the field of battle.

In England, the diſcontents ariſing from the king's government, fomented by the artifice of faction, had now prepared the way for a violent revolution: and, in that moment of deceitful tranquillity, which uſually precedes a dangerous convulſion in the political ſyſtem, Richard vainly formed a reſolution of chaſtiſing the inſolence of the Iriſh, and avenging the death of his viceroy. His forces were again prepared; and the ſums extorted to defray a ſecond expedition into Ireland confirmed the hatred, and afforded a fair pretence for inflaming the diſcontents of his people.

A.D. 1393. In the ſpring of the year 1393, his preparations were completed. The duke of York was left regent in England; and his ſon, the duke of Aumerle, inſtructed to follow the king with a reinforcement. Richard proceeded to Briſtol, attended by ſeveral nobles; and, on the 13th of May, arrived with his forces at Waterford. The whole of this vain expedition ſerved only to demonſtrate the weakneſs of the leader. Six days were ſpent at the place of his landing, in the idle parade of receiving the congratulations of his Iriſh ſubjects. Fourteen more were waſted at Kilkenny, expecting the arrival of the duke of Aumerle, whoſe delay manifeſtly betrayed his ſecret diſaffection. It had never once occurred to the inconſiderate king, that Leinſter, which was to be the ſeat of war, had been for

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ſome time waſted by hoſtilities, and could ſcarcely afford proviſions for his numerous army. The enemy, who well knew to what difficulties he muſt ſoon be reduced, were little affected by his magnificent parade; and, encouraged by his delay, declared their reſolution to defend their liberties to the laſt extremity; affecting, at the ſame time, to rejoice that the period was at length arrived, when their vigorous and irreſiſtible efforts ſhould give a final overthrow to the Engliſh uſurpation in Ireland.

Richard was at laſt prevailed upon to march againſt the enemy, commanded by Mac-Murchard, who, notwithſtanding the penſions he had received, and the ſubmiſſions he had lately made, was ſtill the inveterate enemy of the Engliſh. This chieftain, in order to ſecure himſelf from the ſuperior numbers of the enemy, retired into his woods; and, at their approach, appeared at the head of three thouſand men, ſo well armed and appointed, and with ſuch an appearance of determined valour, as were utterly aſtoniſhing to the Engliſh, who had been taught to deſpiſe their rude and undiſciplined violence. The royal army was drawn out in order of battle, expecting a vigorous attack; but the Iriſh forces, who had no intention of hazarding a general engagement in the field, ſuddenly diſappeared. Richard, elevated by this retreat, ordered the adjacent villages and houſes to be ſet on fire, and the royal ſtandard to be advanced, under which he created ſeveral knights; and, among theſe, the young lord Henry of Lancaſter, afterwards the illuſtrious king Henry V. who, on this occaſion, gave the firſt proofs of his diſtinguiſhed valour.

To facilitate the purſuit of an enemy who appeared to fly, a large body of peaſants was employed to open a paſſage through the woods, which the Iriſh had, by every means, endeavoured to render impaſſable. As the king's army marched through all the difficulties of an incumbered road, perpetually impeded, and ſometimes plunged into deep moraſſes, the enemy frequently aſſailed them with loud and barbarous ſhouts; caſt their darts with ſuch force as no armour could withſtand, ſlaughtered their detached parties, retired and advanced with aſtoniſhing agility, ſo as continually to harraſs the Engliſh forces. Some of the Iriſh lords, leſs ſagacious than Mac-Murchard, and, among thoſe, his uncle, were indeed terrified by the number of the king's forces, and, with all the marks of humiliation, ſubmitted to Richard. They appeared before him with halters round their necks, fell at his feet, imploring

imploring peace and forgiveneſs, and were graciouſly received. Mac-Murchard was ſummoned to make the like ſubmiſſions; and, to prevail upon him to accept of grace, and to return to his allegiance, Richard was weak enough to promiſe large rewards, territories, and caſtles, in Leinſter. The Iriſhman, certain that the enemy could not long ſubſiſt in their preſent ſituation, returned a haughty anſwer of defiance, and repeated his reſolution of oppoſing the king of England to the utmoſt. Richard had the mortification to find, that the diſtreſs, which had encouraged the rebel chieftain to this inſolence, could no longer be concealed. Numbers of the king's ſoldiers periſhed by famine; their horſes grew incapable of ſervice; a general gloom ſpread through his camp; and his braveſt knights murmured at their fate, who were deſtined to periſh by the moſt terrible of human calamities, in a ſervice attended with ſo little honour. A few ſhips, laden with proviſions from Dublin, having landed on the neighbouring coaſt, the famiſhed ſoldiers plunged into the ſea, ſeized and rifled them, ſhedding each other's blood in a furious conteſt for relief. The neceſſity of decamping was too urgent to admit of the leaſt delay. Richard, with his numerous forces, was compelled to retire before an inconſiderable band of enemies whom he had deſpiſed, and who inceſſantly harraſſed him in his retreat [1].

Mac-Murchard, however, amidſt all the exultation of a purſuing enemy, was not inſenſible to the real extent of his power. He knew that the king's difficulties would terminate with his arrival at the capital, and that though this might be retarded by the incurſions of the inſurgents, it was what they could not prevent. He, therefore, embraced the preſent moment to attempt an accommodation upon advantageous terms; and, by meſſage to the king, deſired a ſafe-conduct, that he might repair to the royal camp, to offer his propoſitions of peace; or elſe, that ſome lords might be deputed to confer with him. By advice of the council, Glouceſter was commiſſioned to meet him at a place appointed; and, for this purpoſe, marched out with a guard of two hundred lances, and one thouſand archers. The Iriſh chieftain advanced towards the ſcene of interview on horſeback, attended by his followers. At his command, they halted at due diſtance, while their leader, caſting from him his ſpear, ruſhed forward to meet the Engliſh lord. The parley

[1] Cox.

continued

continued for a conſiderable time. Mac-Murchard was reminded of his late engagements, his violation of them, his attack of the king's vicegerent, and the ſlaughter both of him and his forces. He replied with haughtineſs, by defending his conduct; and, after much debate, at laſt conſented to ſubmit, but abſolutely refuſed to be bound to any conditions. As ſuch an overture was not admiſſible, the conference was broken off. When the king was informed of the inſolence of Mac-Murchard, his pride was ſo much wounded, that he paſſionately vowed never to depart from Ireland until he ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of the rebel alive or dead.

Richard, on his arrival at Dublin, found relief for his enfeebled army; and was at laſt joined by the reinforcement under Aumerle. Here this ill-fated prince reſided during ſix weeks, while ſome part of his forces was detached againſt the enemy, and the royal proclamation iſſued, promiſing three hundred marks of gold to any who ſhould ſeize Mac-Murchard. Tempeſtuous weather, and contrary winds, had cut him off from all intelligence from England during this period; when, at length, a bark arrived, and brought him the fatal tidings of his being dethroned. His council adviſed that he ſhould inſtantly return to England; but Aumerle prevailed on him to ſtay until his whole army could be at once tranſported. When he had at length arrived, he found the ruin of his affairs complete. Abandoned by his friends, in his extremity, he was betrayed into the hands of his rival, and ſolemnly depoſed.

A.D. 1399. *Henry IV.*

The acceſſion of Henry IV. to the throne of England, laid the foundation of thoſe bloody conteſts between the factions of York and Lancaſter, which were ſeverely felt in Ireland; and for many years raiſed an inſuperable obſtacle to the ſettlement of this diſtracted country. After the vicegerency had been for ſome time entruſted to Stanley and Scroop, two Engliſh knights, in whoſe government the public diſorders were found to be encreaſed, Henry's ſecond ſon, Thomas duke of Lancaſter, was appointed lieutenant, and ſent into Ireland to give weight and dignity to the government, by his perſonal adminiſtration. The Scots, ſoon after the acceſſion of Henry, had invaded this kingdom, whither they were invited, as well by the declining ſtate of the Engliſh, as by the favour and ſupport of the native Iriſh. In thoſe deſcents they had gained ſome ſettlements in Ulſter, and aſſiſted the Iriſh enemy to over-run this province. Donald of the Iſles,

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and his brother John, were principal leaders in theſe petty invaſions. The citizens of Dublin fitted out ſome ſhips againſt the enemy, but their fleet had the misfortune to receive a total defeat.

A D. 1402. The arrival of the duke of Lancaſter in Ireland, though not accompanied with any conſiderable force, promiſed greater proſperity to the adminiſtration. Complaints of the oppreſſions of former governors were duly attended to. Commiſſioners were appointed to hold inquiſitions in ſeveral counties, to aſcertain the names, number, and damages of thoſe who had been ſpoiled by arbitrary exactions, and the perſons from whom they had ſuſtained ſuch injuries. This laudable conduct quieted and united the people; a circumſtance of no inconſiderable effect in repreſſing the local diſorders to which the Engliſh diſtricts of greater conſequence were expoſed. The licentious ſepts of Wicklow were ſeverely chaſtiſed by the arms of the magiſtracy of Dublin. The degenerate Engliſh in Argial, who had taken advantage of the abſence of ſeveral powerful ſubjects ſummoned to parliament, and committed the moſt alarming violences, were repreſſed, ſeized, condemned to die, and their lands declared forfeited to the king. But as the government was weak, and the number of ſuch offenders, as well as their influence, too conſiderable for a rigorous execution of the law, it was deemed prudent to grant them a pardon, and their poſſeſſions, during their lives. Several of the Iriſh chieftains of Leinſter renewed to the duke thoſe ſubmiſſions which they had formerly made king Richard. A parliament was ſummoned at Caſtledermot, for conſidering the moſt effectual means to repel the inſurgents of Ulſter, and to drive out the Scottiſh invaders. The ſubjects of the county of Dublin granted a ſubſidy for this ſervice. The citizens of Dublin and Drogheda collected their troops, and even carried the predatory war to the

A.D. 1407. coaſts of Scotland. But, amidſt this ſucceſs, the turbulent Art. Mac-Murchard was meditating freſh diſturbance to government. Deſpiſing the force of the vicegerent, he ſcorned to take part in the ſubmiſſions made to the duke of Lancaſter by inferior chieftains; and now ſeducing ſeveral of theſe from their promiſed allegiance, appeared at their head, in open defiance of the deputy. A parliament was convened at Dublin, and thence adjourned to Trim, to concert meaſures for ſuppreſſing this inſurrection. Mac-Murchard, after a deſperate and well diſputed battle, was defeated, but not reduced to ſubjection.

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The victors, meanwhile, were ſuddenly called off to quell tumults in other quarters of the country; where all their exertions could only obtain ſome temporary advantages, with little damage to the enemy, and no permanent ſecurity to the ſubjects. The power of the ancient natives was every day extending, when a reign of turbulence in England, and the reſtleſs factions of Engliſh lords in Ireland, deprived the government of its neceſſary ſupport. What could not be effected by military atchievements, was on various occaſions attempted by treaties and ſtipulations; in which the ſuperior power of the enemy dictated the terms. The borderers were by degrees driven to ſecure themſelves againſt the inroads of the neighbouring Iriſh, by bribes and penſions. Soon after this period, an annual ſtipend, well known by the name of Black Rent, was paid to the powerful Iriſh chieftains, to purchaſe their protection [k].

When Henry V. aſcended the throne, Ireland was totally diſregarded, amidſt the dazzling objects of ambition. Sir John Stanley, who had formerly adminiſtered the government of that kingdom without credit or ſucceſs, was again appointed to this office, to the utter diſſatisfaction of the people, whom he continued to oppreſs by his rapaciouſneſs, during the ſhort period of his government, which commenced in October, and ended with his life in the enſuing January. The Iriſh council appointed for his ſucceſſor Crawly, archbiſhop of Dublin, a pious and learned prelate, but neither by his temper nor profeſſion fitted to govern a diſcontented and turbulent people. The repreſentatives, being convened at Dublin, refuſed to grant ſupplies, notwithſtanding the enemy was in arms. The kingdom ſeemed ready to ſink under the complicated calamity of war and faction, when ſir John Talbot, lord Furnival, a man diſtinguiſhed by his military talents, was ſent over from England to aſſume the reins of government. Carrying with him no army, he was obliged to rely on the forces raiſed in Ireland; for the ſupport of whom he had alſo no other means than that of recurring to the oppreſſive and arbitrary impoſitions practiſed by his predeceſſors. By his activity and valour, however, he ſtruck terror into ſeveral Iriſh chieftains, who had long moleſted the Engliſh territories. He marched in a circular progreſs round all the diſtricts moſt expoſed to incurſion; and by preſſing cloſe upon the enemy in their retreats,

A.D. 1413. *Henry V.*

[k] Hanmer. Davis.

terrified many into ſubmiſſion. Even Mac-Murchard, the proud and turbulent chieftain of Leinſter, was obliged to renew his homage, and to give his ſon as a hoſtage for his peaceable behaviour. But though the Iriſh leaders were ſworn to keep the peace, they ſtill retained their independency, and the Engliſh pale was not enlarged. The impoſitions for the ſupport of the ſoldiery rendered the governor obnoxious to the ſevereſt judgement of the law; and in other inſtances he ſeems to have trodden in the ſteps of too many of his predeceſſors.

The Engliſh ſubjects, who had ſettled in this kingdom, were now reduced to a mortifying ſituation. By the old native Iriſh, the whole race was conſidered as aliens and intruders; and, on the other hand, their fellow-ſubjects in England, from the magnified reports of their degeneracy and revolts, and from their own illiberal pride, were taught to confound them with the old natives. At this time, many of the moſt profligate among the Iriſh ſought relief for their wants, or refuge for their offences, in England; and from the conduct of ſuch outcaſts, a judgement was formed of the whole race. In the beginning of the preſent reign, the Engliſh parliament had been obliged to take notice of the ſwarms of adventurers from Ireland. It was enacted, that all ſuch ſhould be obliged to depart; and the law was executed in ſo unjuſtifiable an extent, that the moſt reputable of the Engliſh race were included in the ſcandal and diſhonour of this prohibition. Their ſtudents, who reſorted to England for education, though expreſly exempted from the penalties of the ſtatute, were diſdainfully excluded from the inns of court; a meaſure in the higheſt degree impolitc and unjuſt, as it not only precluded them from ſuch an intercourſe as would have conciliated their affections to England, but denied them the opportunity of ſtudying thoſe laws they were to be governed by.

On the appointment of the earl of Ormond to the vicegerency, the parliament diſcovered more than ordinary zeal to do honour to his government, by providing for the public exigencies; but theſe grants were accompanied with a repreſentation of grievances[f]. A petition to the throne, which had been obſtructed by the former governor, was now revived, and conducted through the proper forms, without controul. This petition, which is ſtill extant, contains a pathetic repreſentation of the diſtreſſes

[f] Pryn, Rot. Tur. Berm.

of

of the king's ſubjects in Ireland, harraſſed on one hand by the perpetual incurſions of the Iriſh enemy, and on the other by the injuſtice or extortion of his majeſty's miniſters; and the king's perſonal appearance in Ireland is moſt earneſtly entreated, to ſave his people from deſtruction.

What particular attention was paid to this petition, does not appear; but there is reaſon to think that the complaints of the Iriſh ſubjects were not entirely unnoticed by the king; for ſoon after, we find that Merbury, the chancellor, of whoſe conduct the Iriſh had alſo complained in their petition, was removed, and Fitz-Thomas, prior to the hoſpital of St. John of Jeruſalem, ſubſtituted in his place. The earl of Ormond was continued in his government, which he adminiſtered with general ſatisfaction, defending the pale, and chaſtiſing the incurſions of the bordering Iriſh. But this ſecurity ſerved only to give riſe to internal diviſions. Mutual rivalſhips and jealouſies, with the pride of the old Engliſh race, and the inſolent affection of ſuperiority in thoſe of Engliſh birth, ſeparated the inhabitants into different parties, and laid among them the foundation of an invidious and impolitic diſtinction of an Iriſh and an Engliſh intereſt.

Fortunately for the inhabitants of the Engliſh pale, the common enemy was too much diſunited to take advantage of thoſe diſſentions. They were contented, in the diſtant quarters of the iſland, to rule their petty ſepts, and maintain their ſtate and conſequence in oppoſition to their neighbours; and to purſue their local intereſts. Their averſion to the Engliſh was ſcarcely more national than that which they entertained towards the rival ſepts of their own race. They united in the moſt cordial affection with thoſe of the old Engliſh families which had revolted to them; and their inſurrections againſt the Engliſh, far from being uniformly actuated by a deſire of exterminating the invaders, appear to have been commonly occaſioned by local claims and diſputes.

The acceſſion of Henry VI. an infant prince, and the attention of his guardians to the affairs of France, naturally impeded the reformation of Ireland, and even encreaſed its diſorders. While the enemy in different quarters roſe in arms, and infeſted the Engliſh pale, a parliament convened at Trim, under the archbiſhop of Dublin, could but vote the ſmall augmentation of twelve men at arms, and ſixty archers, to be paid forty days. While their borders were invaded, and their faireſt ſettlements endangered, A.D. 1422. *Henry VI.*

endangered, the ſubjects of the old Engliſh race found leiſure to indulge the particular reſentments of their party. Merbury, the obnoxious chancellor of the late reign, was ſtill the peculiar object of their indignation. They made the ſevereſt inquiſition into his conduct; charged him before the council with many illegal and corrupt practices; and at length drove him into England; whither they ſtill purſued him with their accuſations, and obliged him to anſwer before the throne to the ſeveral miſdemeanours with which he was charged.

To intimidate the enemy, and to repreſs theſe civil diſſentions, the Engliſh regency thought it ſufficient to uſe the name of Edmund, earl of Marche and Ulſter, and to appoint to the government of Ireland a nobleman moſt reſpectable for his connexions with the royal blood. This earl, at firſt diſdaining to adminiſter the Iriſh government in perſon, thought his duty ſufficiently diſcharged by deputing a biſhop of Meath to govern in his abſence. The prelate, however reſpectable in his proper ſtation, was yet, in point of conſequence, much leſs conſiderable than the lords of the old Engliſh race[h]. But what was ſtill more offenſive, he was of Engliſh birth, and lately ſent into Ireland with all the proud and contemptuous prejudices of his countrymen. The nobles were provoked at this appointment; and when aſſembled in council, it was obſerved, that his commiſſion was ſealed only with the earl's private ſeal. They demanded a commiſſion under the great ſeal either of England or Ireland, and great altercations aroſe in the council on this ſubject. The deputy demanded his ſeat; the archbiſhop of Dublin, then chancellor, proteſted againſt the mode of his appointment, and refuſed to adminiſter the oaths, or to receive him as governor. The nomination of the earl was as warmly ſupported by ſome Engliſhmen of figure lately arrived. At length, the council conſented to receive the deputy, with an expreſs declaration that they admited him only from the neceſſity of public affairs, and to prevent the inconveniences which might ariſe from a ſuſpenſion of government. Such was the violence of faction, and ſuch the general odium againſt this biſhop of Meath, notwithſtanding an excellent private character, that ſome time after he was maliciouſly accuſed of ſtealing a chalice from one of the churches in his diocefe. The bill of indictment found againſt him at Trim, was

[h] Pryn, Rot. Tur. Berm.

removed

removed to parliament by certiorari; and here the bishop, with becoming dignity and spirit, pleaded his innocence. He was referred to his metropolitan, who received his compurgation, and pronounced him innocent. But his triumph over the virulence of his accusers was still more complete, when one of the accomplices in the robbery was seized with remorse, confessed his guilt, and discovered the real perpetrators [1].

This prelate was soon succeeded as deputy by the earl of Ormond, who seems to have been purposely appointed on account of some alarming commotions, particularly in the northern province. The vicinity of some part of the coast of Ulster to Scotland, afforded perpetual opportunities to the rovers of that country to pour into Ireland, where they were retained by the Irish chieftains, and assisted them in ravaging the English settlements. The earl of Marche and Ulster soon thought it necessary to repair to Ireland in person, to rescue his lands from these invaders; but his sudden death, at Trim, served to increase the disorders of the state. Talbot, lord Furnival, was appointed to succeed him as lord-justice, and soon after the earl of Ormond was constituted lord-lieutenant; both of them noblemen of distinguished spirit, and dreaded by the Irish insurgents, who appear to have been considerably intimidated by the vigour of their operations. The indentures of several of them, still extant, are extremely submissive, and highly favourable to the English claims. They acknowlege themselves vassals to the king of England, promise not only to keep his peace, but to assist him against enemies and rebels; renounce all title to the lands of English settlers which they had seized, and consent to atone for their offences by a fine. The degenerate English also of most notorious delinquency were obliged to treat. The Berminghams, in particular, gave hostages to the earl of Ormond; and all acknowleged themselves obnoxious to excommunication in case of failure, and voluntarily resigned their lands to all the consequences of an interdict. Those transactions were followed by an interval of general tranquillity, which affords no events worthy of notice, but the succession of governors known by little more than their names. But this interval was of short duration. Before the end of the present reign, the enemies and rebels had conquered and put under their tribute, in the province of Munster, almost the whole of the

[1] Cox.

counties of Limerick, Tipperary, Kilkenny, and Wexford; and in the lower parts, almoſt all the counties of Carlow, Kildare, Meath, and Uriel; ſo that there was left unſubjected little more than the county of Dublin. This repreſentation, however, which appears in a record, and was purpoſely made to gain ſupplies from England, muſt have been greatly exaggerated. The county of Dublin indeed, and the adjacent diſtricts, might have been the only quarters where the Engliſh enjoyed a reſidence perfectly ſecure, and the juriſdiction of the crown was exerciſed in full vigour; but the Engliſh in other parts enjoyed conſiderable poſſeſſions, and by force of arms, or by compoſitions with the Iriſh, maintained them in a ſtate of diſorderly ſubjection, ſomething between civility and war; until at laſt, themſelves declining gradually from the principles of a loyal people, they were completely blended with the original natives and enemies to the Engliſh power [b].

Hitherto we find the families of Deſmond and Kildare unnoticed during the reigns of the Lancaſtrian princes, and the earl of Ormond the only nobleman of Iriſh birth in whom the crown placed peculiar confidence. The conſequence of this partiality was jealouſies and animoſities, which were only ſuſpended until a favourable opportunity ſhould give free courſe to their violence. James, the preſent earl of Deſmond, had acquired his title and poſſeſſions in an irregular manner. Thomas, his nephew and the heir of Deſmond, having been engaged in the chace, was benighted at Tralee, and obliged to take ſhelter at the abbey Feal, in the houſe of a man named Mac Cormac, one of his dependents. Catharine, a beautiful daughter of his hoſt, inſtantly inſpired the earl with a violent paſſion, which he finding it impoſſible to gratify upon any other conditions, made her his wife. By this ſtep, which his followers conſidered as an unpardonable degradation of his family, they were alienated from him. James, his uncle, an aſpiring lord, ſeized the advantage of their prejudices, which he ceaſed not to forment; and ſo deeply had this family imbibed the manners of the ancient Iriſh, that he was enabled by his adherents to expel earl Thomas thrice from his country, and at length to oblige him to make a formal ſurrender of his eſtate and dignity. The unhappy lord retired to Roan, where melancholy put a period to his life. James, now conſtituted earl of

[b] Cox.

Deſmond

Deſmond, had the eſtate and dignity confirmed to him by act of parliament. Not content with this elevation, he was ſolicitous for increaſing his power. With this view, he contrived, by a pretended grant from Robert Cogan, to poſſeſs himſelf of an extenſive diſtrict called the kingdom of Corke, where, by the aſſiſtance of his numerous followers, both of Iriſh and Engliſh race, he eſtabliſhed his authority, in ſpite of the legal claims made by the families of Carew and Courcey. By uniting with Ormond in a factious quarrel between the houſes of Butler and Talbot, he ſo far ingratiated himſelf with this earl, at a time when he was lord-lieutenant, that by his mediation he obtained ſeveral important favours from the crown. He was by patent conſtituted governor of the counties of Waterford, Corke, Limerick, and Kerry; and what is yet more remarkable, under pretence that his ſervices were neceſſary in the remoter diſtricts of the kingdom, that his journeys to parliament were burdenſome, inconvenient, and dangerous to one ſo obnoxious to the Iriſh, on account of his attachment to the crown, he was permitted to abſent himſelf from all future parliaments during life, and allowed to ſend a ſufficient proxy. A.D. 1443.

The effects of theſe incautious grants were ſoon diſcovered. While the degenerate Engliſh, in ſeveral quarters, maintained the bloodieſt quarrels with their neighbours, upon the moſt frivolous pretences, Ormond was obliged to lead againſt the earl of Deſmond thoſe forces which might have quelled inferior offenders[p]. This nobleman, now dangerouſly aggrandized, bade defiance to that government which had raiſed him to his preſent conſequence; and he was ſurrounded by a troop of followers powerful enough to ſupport him in his diſloyalty. Forces were collected on each ſide, and hoſtilities commenced; nor could Ormond put an end to the depredations of the enemy, but by treating with the rebel lord as an independent ſovereign. A truce concluded for a year gave Deſmond an opportunity to ſtrengthen his party, and to intrigue with the enemies of the governor. Ormond, once ſo popular, now found his influence every day declining, and his opponents enabled to inſult him with impunity. Their repreſentations at the court of England had ſo great an effect, that the earl received orders to repair thither without delay, and explain the cauſes of thoſe public diſcon-

[p] Ann. Forbes, MS.

tents which had been conveyed to the throne. Ormond ſaw the malice of his enemies with indignation and contempt. He ſummoned the nobility and gentry of the Pale to attend him at Drogheda, where he expoſtulated freely with them on the ungenerous behaviour of thus ſecretly undermining his credit with the king, and challenged them to a fair examination of his conduct during the whole courſe of his government. The magnanimity of conſcious innocence could not fail of its effect. The moſt honourable teſtimonies were given to his integrity, and to his ſervices; and the king, upon an addreſs from his Iriſh ſubjects, countermanded the order for his departure.

But a ſettled ſcheme formed to remove him from his government was not ſo eaſily defeated. His enemies were indefatigable, and at length ſo far prevailed, even in parliament, that an addreſs of a different nature was tranſmitted to the king, in which the lieutenant was repreſented as inactive by age and infirmity: he was accuſed of procuring ſeveral of his retainers to be choſen members of the commons, who, for his factious purpoſes, oppoſed the king's ſervice: and he was charged with receiving ſums of money for diſpenſing with the attendance of ſeveral lords of parliament, and impriſoning divers ſubjects upon frivolous pretences, and in order to extort large ranſoms for their releaſe. Notwithſtanding the biſhops of Corke and Cloyne, ſeveral temporal lords, and ſome corporations, ſent to the king the ampleſt teſtimonials of the good conduct of the earl, yet the repreſentations of his enemies were ſo effectual, that Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, and now created earl of Waterford, was ſent into Ireland to take the adminiſtration of government.

Talbot came attended with a troop of ſeven hundred choſen men. In deſpite of the moſt ſolemn ſtipulations, the Iriſh, upon the pretence of freſh injuries, roſe in arms, as uſual, in ſeveral quarters; and in defiance of lawful authority, the Engliſh maintained their local quarrels. The firſt care of the new vicegerent was to ſuppreſs thoſe petty commotions. The Iriſh chieftains were reduced, the degenerate Engliſh intimidated; and ſome of the moſt obnoxious, particularly of the ſept of Bermingham, were ſeized, condemned, and executed.

The public peace being thus reſtored, the earl convened a parliament at Trim, to deliberate on the reformation of the ſtate, and the more regular execution of government. In this aſſembly it was declared highly penal to conform to the Iriſh faſhion of the hair and beard. But the jealouſies

louſies and factions, which now ſubſiſted in Engſand, produced a new appointment to the adminiſtration of government in Ireland, which had a laſting and important influence on the affairs of this country.

The petitions ſent to every Engliſh parliament, deſcribing the hoſtile diſpoſitions of the Iriſh, and the perpetual danger of the Engliſh ſettlements, in terms highly aggravated, ſeem to have afforded the pretence for appointing Richard, duke of York, vicegerent of Ireland. This prince, though now embarked in thoſe political intrigues, by which he hoped to pave the way to the Engliſh crown, accepted of the office aſſigned him; but took care that it ſhould be attended with all the honour and authority which had at any time been conferred on the moſt diſtinguiſhed of his predeceſſors. He ſtipulated to hold his government for ten years; to receive the whole revenue of Ireland without account, with an immediate advance of two thouſand marks, and an annual penſion of two thouſand more from England; to be empowered to let the king's lands; to diſpoſe of all offices, and levy ſuch forces as he ſhould judge neceſſary; to name his deputy, and to return at his pleaſure.

His arrival and appearance in the ſeat of government was ſplendid and magnificent; and his obliging deportment engaged the affections of all parties. While he adminiſtered the affairs of Ireland, in ſuch a manner as to recommend himſelf to popular favour, and increaſe the number of his adherents, the partizans of his family in England were induſtrious to inflame the diſcontents conceived againſt the queen and her miniſter, and to improve every incident to the purpoſes of his faction. The inſurrection of Cade, which happened at this time, was currently imputed to the contrivance of the duke of York, who, it was ſaid, intended to lead an Iriſh army into England, to dethrone the king. The report of ſuch traiterous deſigns afforded the duke a plauſible pretence of returning into England, to juſtify his conduct, and to guard againſt the machinations of his enemies. He therefore ſoon appeared in London, but without an army, and with ſuch a train as could afford no ground for any unfavourable ſuſpicion. It does not appear what particular proviſions he made at his departure for the adminiſtration of the Iriſh government, only that he appointed the earl of Ormond his deputy. After a few inconſiderable excurſions made by this nobleman to correct the diſorders of the ancient natives, he died, and was ſucceeded in the A.D. 1449.

vicegerency by ſir Edward Fitz-Euſtace, a man well fitted for a government which required activity and vigour. At the time of his arrival in Ireland, the whole country was agitated with inteſtine commotions, the ſuppreſſion of which was the immediate object of his attention. The lords of the Engliſh race, who were attached to the crown, exerted themſelves againſt the remoter inſurgents, while the deputy himſelf was employed in reſtraining the violences exerciſed in Leinſter, where he routed O'Connor, the turbulent Iriſh chieftain of O'Fally. O'Connor, in endeavouring to eſcape from his purſuers, fell from his horſe: his ſon, the companion of his danger, ſtopped and remounted him; but, unhappily, the father fell a ſecond time to the ground. A generous conteſt was now commenced between the father and ſon, which of them ſhould be reſigned to the mercy of the enemy. The youth urgently preſſed his father to take his horſe, and to ſeize the preſent moment of providing for his own ſafety. The father obſtinately refuſed; commanded his ſon to fly, and was quickly made priſoner. But as it appeared that he had taken arms merely for the ſake of depredation, he was releaſed without any injury [9].

The chieftains of the North were ſtill more turbulent, and required greater force, as well as more ſevere execution, to repreſs their violences. The ſept of O'Nial had gradually diſpoſſeſſed the Engliſh of ſeveral of the moſt valuable ſettlements in Ulſter; but ſince the Scottiſh invaſion, in the reign of Edward II. they had not been able to form any plan of general inſurrection. A piratical expedition which they had lately made near the port of Dublin, drew upon them the vengeance of the government. Several of the Iriſh chieftains of Ulſter united with the ſon of O'Nial, and marched againſt the forces of the deputy. An obſtinate engagement, however, fought at Ardglaſs, ended in the total defeat of the northern Iriſh. Their general was made priſoner, and about ſix hundred of his aſſociates ſlain.

The affairs of England became gradually more and more embroiled. The duke of York, under pretence of the king's indiſpoſition, was by the parliament appointed protector of the realm. The oppoſite faction endeavouring to wreſt this power from his hands, the conteſt came at length to be decided by arms; when the victory at St. Alban's gave the duke poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, and

[9] Cox.

the

the whole authority of the crown. Richard having determined to ſtrengthen his intereſt in Ireland, Fitz-Euſtace was removed, and the reins of government intruſted to the earl of Kildare, whoſe family had formed a ſtrict connexion with the duke of York during his reſidence in Ireland. The deaths of ſeveral native Iriſh chieftains, as well as of ſome of the moſt powerful lords among the degenerate Engliſh, contributed to the eaſe of his government, and the tranquillity of the ſtate, which was diſturbed only by ſome petty inſurrections[r].

Duke Richard being defeated at Blore-Heath, fled for ſhelter into Ireland, where he was received not as a fugitive, but with all the marks of deference due to a chief governor. The vengeance of the crown, though it could not reach the duke, yet purſued ſome of his party into Ireland. Writs were ſent over to ſeize and bring them to juſtice; but the king's authority proved of little weight againſt a popular viceroy, who not only controuled the execution of thoſe writs, but had the addreſs to ſecure to himſelf the ſupport of the Iriſh parliament. This aſſembly enacted, that whoever ſhould imagine, or compaſs, the deſtruction or death of the duke, ſhould be deemed guilty of high treaſon. Some farther attempts made by the royal party to ſeize the perſon of the duke and ſome of his adherents, only ſerved to rouſe the indignation of his partizans in the Iriſh parliament, and expoſe the agents to their vengeance. The victory of the Yorkiſts at Northampton once more called the duke from Ireland; on which occaſion, the attachment of his adherents in that kingdom was eminently diſplayed. They attended him in great numbers, with the warmeſt profeſſions of reſolution and fidelity. The diſtrict of Meath in particular was almoſt exhauſted of its Engliſh inhabitants, who enabled Richard to appear in London at the head of a gallant and formidable troop. Though declared ſucceſſor to Henry in a parliament ſurrounded and intimidated by his forces, his pretenſions were ſtill oppoſed by the indefatigable Margaret, who engaged him with a ſuperior army at Wakefield, where himſelf, and a number of his followers, were ſlain.

The old natives of Ireland conſidered this action as a final determination of the Engliſh intereſt in that country; and proceeded each to poſſeſs himſelf of the lands which were either abandoned by the ſettlers, or were indefenſible by their weakneſs, ſo as gradually to reſtrict the

[r] Davis.

bounds of the Engliſh province. Meath was deſolated by incurſions from Leinſter and the North. The only method to ſecure peace and protection, was to treat with the turbulent Iriſh chieftains as ſuperiors. The inſurgents of Leinſter were bribed with penſions to lay down their arms; and the ſame means of pacification were purſued in other parts of the iſland. The pride of thoſe chieftains was fully gratified by this tacit acknowlegement of their conſequence; and the Engliſh, as a particular ſept, were ſuffered to live unmoleſted, under the protection of other ſepts, who, purſuing their own private intereſts, looked with a contemptuous diſregard to the affairs of the Saxons, as the Engliſh were called.

When the firſt commotion in Ireland, raiſed by the action of Wakefield, had ſubſided, the king's council in that country proceeded to exerciſe their ancient right of electing a governor, until the royal pleaſure ſhould be known. On this occaſion they demonſtrated their affection to the houſe of York; for Thomas, earl of Kildare, was choſen lord chief-juſtice, and, by virtue of his appointment, immediately ſummoned a parliament at Dublin. It was, however, prorogued: and intelligence arriving that Henry had already been depoſed, and Edward IV. ſeated on the throne of England, two farther prorogations were deemed neceſſary. Meanwhile, Kildare was confirmed in his ſtation by patent from the new king; and the acts of adminiſtration exerciſed in the name of Henry VI. were afterwards ratified in the Iriſh parliament. But his commiſſion was ſoon ſuperſeded by the appointment of George, duke of Clarence, to the lieutenancy of Ireland for life. The earl of Ormond, who had been one of the firſt victims to the revenge of the triumphant Yorkiſts, was attainted and executed upon a ſcaffold. The fate of this nobleman, however, deterred not his brother from making trial of the ſtrength and attachment of his Iriſh adherents. With no inconſiderable train of followers from England, he fled into Munſter, where the name of Ormond could ſtill call together a numerous body of dependents. By the zeal which they diſcovered for his ſervice, he was flattered into an opinion, that he was powerful enough to bid defiance to the Iriſh deputy, and to aſſert his own rights, as well as thoſe of the dethroned king. He was, however, defeated in a pitched battle by the young earl of Deſmond, who, in reward of his ſervices, was ſoon appointed lord-deputy. This inexperienced nobleman grew giddy with exaltation, while the enemies of his

A D 1461.

Edward IV.

houſe

houſe were provoked at the ſucceſs of his arms, and mortified at his preſent greatneſs. They, therefore, endeavoured by their intrigues to diſturb his government as much as poſſible; and every day they propagated jealouſies and complaints of his adminiſtration. The ſept of Melachlin, the ruling Iriſh family of Meath, had, on ſome real or pretended provocation, been invaded by Petit, one of the moſt ancient Engliſh ſettlers in this diſtrict; and in revenge of his depredations, roſe up in arms. Though they were powerful enough to oblige Petit to atone for his offence, by an extraordinary compoſition, yet their incurſions, once provoked, could not be immediately repreſſed. Particular parties ſtill continued their ravages, and by ſucceſs ſoon became ſo conſiderable as to command the attention of the lord-deputy. Collecting ſome forces, he marched againſt the plunderers, with a contempt of their power. But the neighbouring clans flew to their aſſiſtance with ſuch ſpeed, that inſtead of diſperſing, they gave Deſmond battle, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that his troops were totally routed, and himſelf, with ſeveral of his principal followers, made priſoners[s].

The ſon of O'Connor, who, on a former occaſion, diſplayed ſo generous a concern for the ſafety of his father, was now among the inſurgents, and embraced the opportunity which offered, of repaying the indulgence formerly ſhewn to his parent by Deſmond. He, therefore, conveyed that nobleman to a place of ſecurity, and diſmiſſed him with a conſiderable number of his followers. But though the deputy was enabled by this mortifying act of kindneſs to regain the ſeat of government, yet ſuch was his weakneſs and conſternation, that the enemy was encouraged to collect from different quarters round, the helpleſs ſettlers of Meath, and to ravage them without controul. At the ſame time, the ſept of O'Brien iſſued from the South, and croſſing the Shannon, in a formidable body, ravaged and expelled the Engliſh ſettlers of Munſter, and ſeemed on the point of forming a general confederacy with the Iriſh of Leinſter, as well as the inſurgents of Argial and Breffney, ſo as to overwhelm the whole Engliſh Pale. Deſmond had no other method of averting the danger but that of a treaty with his enemies. O'Brien was left in poſſeſſion of a conſiderable part of his conqueſts; and having thus provided for his own particular intereſt, he returned to his uſual reſidence, in

[s] Hanmer.

all

all the pride of an Iriſh prince, leaving his countrymen to make the like compoſitions with the Engliſh government.

Though theſe mortifications naturally diminiſhed the popularity of Deſmond, the parliament, which he ſoon after convened at Wexford, diſcovered the moſt zealous attachment to his government. With its honourable teſtimonials of his good conduct, he repaired to England, and was graciouſly received by the king. His enemies, who had previouſly endeavoured to ſupplant him in the royal favour, were diſcountenanced, and their accuſations diſmiſſed. He returned to his government in triumph; and, ſecure of the king's protection, was leſs cautious to guard againſt the ſecret practices of thoſe, who, by being diſappointed, were only rendered more implacable in their enmity.

In his ſubſequent parliament, we find the ſtatutes particularly calculated not only for the defence of the Pale, but for refining the manners of its inhabitants[t]. The Iriſh permitted to reſide among the Engliſh ſubjects, were obliged to aſſume the Engliſh garb and faſhion of the hair, to be ſworn liege-men to the king within one year, and to take Engliſh ſurnames. Every inhabitant was bound to uſe the long-bow. A conſtable was appointed for every town, where butts were to be erected; and all from the age of ſixteen to ſixty to be exerciſed in archery on every holiday. And to prevent the Iriſh diſtricts from receiving any aſſiſtance or ſupplies from other countries, all fiſhing on their coaſts was prohibited, unleſs by ſpecial licence from the king's deputy.

But during this proſperous ſtate of the earl's government, his enemies were continuing with great induſtry their machinations againſt him; and new incidents at the court of England co-operated to precipitate his ruin. The marriage of the king with Elizabeth Grey attached him cloſely to her family. Her father, lately created earl of Rivers, was to be farther dignified with the place of lord-high-conſtable of England; and Tiptoft, earl of Worceſter, who reſigned it in his favour, was gratified with the office of lord-deputy of Ireland, attended with the moſt honourable and extenſive powers; an event which afforded particular triumph to all the enemies of the Geraldines. All thoſe who had been inſulted by the pride, or injured by the power of that aſpiring family, crowded to the new governor on his arrival, and bitterly inveighed againſt the adminiſtration of the former deputy. It was even alleged,

[t] Stat. 5 Edward IV.

that

that Deſmond intended to renounce his allegiance, and to make himſelf independent ſovereign of Ireland; nor was the falſhood of this charge detected, until it had produced its effect. Tiptoft was alarmed, and liſtened to ſuch accuſations with great attention.

A parliament was convened at Dublin, which affected to ſupport the intereſts of the crown by more vigorous ordinances than uſual. It was enacted, that, whereas the liege people had hitherto been reduced to pay to the Iriſh enemy and Engliſh rebels a tallage called Black-rent, ſuch tallage ſhould for the future be paid to the king's deputy, for the better ſupport of his army. As this act was calculated merely to reflect diſgrace upon the treaties lately made by Deſmond, an attempt to carry it into execution muſt have produced the moſt deſperate and dangerous inſurrections.

The parliament was adjourned to Drogheda, where the enemies of the Geraldines gave free ſcope to their reſentments. They procured, on various pretences, an act for attainting of treaſon, the earls of Deſmond and Kildare, and Edward Plunket, eſq. Kildare was impriſoned, but either contrived to eſcape, or was afterwards releaſed. Deſmond, relying either on his innocence or his power, had the hardineſs to repair to the chief governor to juſtify his conduct; but, to the aſtoniſhment and confuſion of his party, was inſtantly brought to the ſcaffold and beheaded. The execution of the unhappy lord may be regarded as one of the melancholy effects of thoſe factious animoſities which ever ſubſiſted among the Iriſh ſubjects of greater rank, and by which the Engliſh intereſt had been frequently endangered; for the laws on which he was condemned had never been uniformly obeyed, nor ſtrictly executed. A.D. 1468.

Some ineffectual attempts were made to revenge the death of the earl, by Gerrat, one of the ſurviving branches of the family of Deſmond; for which he was attainted. But the enemies of this houſe enjoyed only a ſhort-lived triumph. Kildare, who had eſcaped to England, boldly repaired to the king, urged the injuries done to his family, pleaded their ſervices to the crown, and was ſo favourably heard, that he received his pardon. The very parliament which had condemned him, paſſed an act in conformity to the royal pleaſure, reverſing his attainder, and reſtoring him to his eſtate and dignity. To complete his triumph, he was ſoon after appointed lord-deputy, in the room of Tiptoft, who was called away by the diſorders of England,

A.D. 1470. land, and there suffered by the same sentence which he had executed upon the earl of Desmond. The Geraldines were thus once more constituted, and for some time continued, the ruling family among the English subjects[t].

The new deputy, as usual, summoned a parliament, which was ready to enter into all his views. They bagan with condemning and reversing some ordinances made in the sessions of the earl of Worcester; and in particular, repealed all the acts in prejudice to the earl of Kildare. To intimidate his opponents, sir John Cornwallis, baron of the Exchequer, who had warmly arraigned his administration in the council, and attempted to form a faction against him in the city of Dublin, was treated with the severity due to a high misdemeanour. He was deprived of his office, declared incapable of receiving or holding any office in Ireland, and his lands seized into the king's hands during his life.

On the restoration of Henry VI. by the vigour of the earl of Warwick, the duke of Clarence had been created, by a new patent, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, for twenty years; but no change took place in the actual administration of Irish government by this short-lived revolution. Kildare was continued in the station of lord-deputy; though his rivals and enemies of his house watched the favourable moment to supplant him.

Ever since the execution of the earl of Ormond, and the ineffectual attempt made by his brother against the earl of Desmond, this noble house had remained in a state of obscurity; until John, the elder of the surviving brothers, who, after his defeat, had fled to England, and contrived to recommend himself to Edward, obtained his pardon. The favour into which he was received by this prince, gave spirit and consequence to his partizans in Ireland, who now ventured to brave their rivals, and being opposed with the usual warmth, threatened to revive the whole fury of private and political feuds. They represented the conduct of Kildare as best suited their purposes, and their representations were conveyed to the throne, by Ormond, with all possible advantage. The assiduity which they practised against the deputy could not in the end fail of its desired effect. He was removed from his government, and had the additional mortification to find himself succeeded by Shirwood, bishop of Meath, the old enemy of his house.

[t] Collect. Irish MSS.

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The triumph of this family being thus completed, ancient animoſities were re-kindled, as well as obſolete pretenſions revived; and the flame of diſcord threatened to involve the whole Engliſh territory, if not the whole iſland, in a deſperate combuſtion. Alarming repreſentations of the diſtracted ſtate of Ireland were conveyed to the king; but Edward could only ſend his commiſſion to the archbiſhop of Armagh, to act as umpire between the contending parties, and to determine them in the fulneſs of royal authority. But what proved more effectual, a ſudden fit of ſuperſtition drove the earl of Ormond into a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; and about the ſame time, the earl of Kildare ended his life. By theſe events the animoſities of the two families were for a while allayed; but new competitors aroſe for royal favour and authority. The biſhop of Meath was requeſted by the parliament to repair to the king, and to inform him authentically of the dangers and diſorders of the ſtate. The Geraldine faction, dreading the conſequence of his repreſentation, endeavoured to defeat them. Addreſſes were procured from their partizans in oppoſition to the deputy and parliament; while the latter thundered out its reſolutions againſt this unwarrantable proceeding. After a weak and diſtracted government of about two years, the adminiſtration of the kingdom reverted once more to the family of Kildare; and Gerald, the young earl, was appointed lord-juſtice. This appointment, however, had ſcarcely been made, when Edward found reaſon to alter his reſolution. He conſtituted Henry, lord Grey, deputy to the duke of Clarence, and ſent him into Ireland, with a train of three hundred men at arms, and a company of archers, as the moſt effectual means of giving weight and authority to his government.

The Iriſh lords felt their pride too deeply wounded, and their fears too violently alarmed, to receive the Engliſh deputy with any degree of favour[x]. Some informality was diſcovered, or pretended, in Grey's commiſſion. Kildare refuſed to obey the king's letters of diſmiſſion, authenticated only by the privy-ſeal. He continued his eſtate, ſummoned and prorogued the parliament, and acted in every thing as the rightful governor. Portleſter, the chancellor, withdrew with the great-ſeal; and Keating, prior of Kilmainham, a turbulent eccleſiaſtic, refuſed to admit Grey in the caſtle of Dublin, of which he

[x] Collect. Iriſh MSS.

was

was conſtable, fortified it againſt him, and repelled his train. Grey convened his aſſembly as the only regular and legal parliament; annulled the acts paſſed in that held by Kildare, declared the great-ſeal in the hands of lord Portleſter to be cancelled and void, and if not reſigned directly, a new ſeal to be made. Keating was ſummoned to ſurrender, and to repair the damages he had made in his caſtle, on pain of being deprived of his benefice. The death of the duke of Clarence, by which the place of lord-lieutenant of Ireland became vacant, ſerved to increaſe theſe conteſts. Edward conferred the office on his infant ſon George; and Grey, by a new commiſſion, was appointed his deputy.

Meanwhile, the Iriſh lords, in an aſſembly purporting to be the king's council, proceeded to an irregular election of Kildare into the office of chief governor. The flame was thus rekindled between rival governors, contending parliaments, and oppoſite privy-councils. The parliament convened by Grey exerted all its authority againſt the factious proceedings of the oppoſite aſſembly. Such alarming repreſentations were made to Edward of the anarchy which ſubſiſted in Ireland, that he deemed it neceſſary to ſummon the earl of Kildare, the archbiſhop of Dublin, and ſome others, to attend him in England, to inform him diſtinctly of the nature and cauſes of thoſe diſorders, and to receive his inſtructions for allaying them. Lord Grey either proved unequal to the exigences of the juncture, or was unwilling to be longer embroiled in the contentions of Ireland. He therefore quitted that kingdom; and Preſton, lord Gormanſton, was appointed his ſucceſſor. But this appointment was only temporary; for on the return of thoſe whom the king had ſummoned into England, Preſton reſigned to Gerald, earl of Kildare, as deputy to Richard, duke of York, who had ſucceeded to the office of lord-lieutenant on the death of prince George. He was commiſſioned to hold this office for four years, with a ſtanding force of one hundred and forty horſemen; and if the Iriſh revenue ſhould prove unequal to this eſtabliſhment, he was to be ſupplied from England. At ſo low an ebb was now the revenue, that a ſmall troop, the annual expence of which exceeded not five hundred pounds, was ſuſpected to be too conſiderable for the revenues of the Iriſh government.

Kildare was ſent to his charge, with full inſtructions from the king to compoſe the diſorders of the late ſhort and tumultuous adminiſtrations. The controverſy between the two rival aſſemblies, each pretending to the authority

authority of the regular and legal parliament of the realm, was submitted to the decision of the king; but instead of pronouncing peremptorily in favour of one or the other, we find him directing what acts made by either he deems necessary to be confirmed or annulled, in the ensuing parliament; and pointing out such other provisions as the interests of the crown, or the welfare of the state required. Kildare now enjoyed his pre-eminence unrivalled, and proceeded in administration without any considerable difficulty or interruption; guarding the four English counties, and regulating the affairs of this district. With the native Irish he had greater weight and authority than any lord of English birth. To increase his influence, his sister was given in marriage to Con O'Nial, son to the chieftain of the North, the first in pride and power of the Irish lords. The husband, on this occasion, was by an act of parliament declared a liege subject of the king's, and completely invested with all the rights annexed to this station. The interest and power of Kildare thus increased, afforded an additional reason for continuing the reins of government in his hands [y]. He therefore exercised the office of deputy, without interruption, during the remainder of the present reign, the succession of Edward the Fifth, and the usurpation of Richard, a period which exhibits nothing more of Irish affairs than the uninteresting contests which the old natives continued to maintain against each other, and the usual provisions for the security of the English settlements. A.D. 1480.

The defeat and death of Richard III. and the accession of Henry VII. a descendent of the Lancastrian line, were events by no means favourably received in Ireland, where far the greater number of noble families were zealously attached to the house of York. A.D. 1485. *Henry VII.*

The titles and emoluments annexed to the government of this kingdom, had for a considerable time been conferred on some prince of the blood, who resided in England, and acted by a deputy; and as the appointment was now continued in the same channel, it became in the next place necessary to provide for the actual administration of the Irish government. On this occasion, to the astonishment of those who were acquainted with the circumstances of this kingdom, the earl of Kildare was continued lord-deputy, his brother Thomas, lord-chancellor, Rowland, lord Portlester, another zealous Yorkist, suffered to enjoy

[y] Bruodin.

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the place of treaſurer; and all the old officers of ſtate, and former privy-council continued.

The uncontrouled influence of the deputy, and his boundleſs attachment to his party, immediately appeared in the inſolence of one of his moſt zealous adherents [z]. Keating, prior of Kilmainham, who had already taken a diſtinguiſhed part in the conteſts of Ireland, had, in confidence of ſupport, alienated the revenues, and even ſold the ornaments and reliques of his houſe. He was deprived of his benefice by his principal, the grand-maſter of Rhodes; and Lomley, an Engliſhman, was appointed to ſucceed him. But the latter had no ſooner landed, to take poſſeſſion of this dignity, than he was aſſailed by Keating, who, with a band of armed men, ſeized, and compelled him to reſign the inſtruments of his appointment. Lomley preſented a complaint both to the king and the maſter, and Keating was excommunicated. This ſo provoked the imperious eccleſiaſtic, that he again ſeized his competitor, and by force caſt him into priſon, where he languiſhed without redreſs, and died: nor could Keating be diſpoſſeſſed, notwithſtanding his repeated outrages [a].

The improvidence of Henry, in truſting the government of Ireland to men who were zealouſly attached to the houſe of York, ſoon became conſpicuous in the inſurrection of Lambert Simnel, who, perſonating the earl of Warwick, ſon to the duke of Clarence, laid claim to the Engliſh crown. It was determined by the contrivers of this impoſture that the firſt ſcene of it ſhould be opened in Ireland. With this deſign, Simnel and his attendants arrived at Dublin, where the youth preſenting himſelf to the lord-deputy, in all the dignity of the character which he aſſumed, pathetically related his impriſonment, his eſcape, the dangers he had experienced, and he ſolicited the deputy's protection and aſſiſtance in the proſecution of his rightful claim to the crown of England. Kildare, who perhaps was not unprepared for the application, communicated this extraordinary event to the ſeveral officers of ſtate. They received the adventurer with every mark of reſpect and attachment, and reſolved at once to devote themſelves to his ſervice. But, in order to make experiment of the temper of the Iriſh ſubjects, before they declared openly in his favour, they artfully contrived to have it ſpread abroad that the earl of Warwick was ar-

[z] Ware. [a] Bruodin.

rived

rived at Dublin, without any farther circumstance, or any hint of the intention or declarations of the chief governor. The citizens in an instant caught the flame of party-zeal, and it quickly spread through the Irish quarters. The people almost unanimously declared in favour of the son of Clarence, forgetting the preferable claims of Edward's female issue. Simnel was conveyed in pomp to the castle of Dublin, where he received the homage of his numerous adherents, was treated as a sovereign, and in a few days publicly proclaimed king, by the name of Edward VI. The citizens of Waterford, who had been spirited by the Butlers and some of the sept of Bermingham, to oppose the present innovations, were peremptorily required by the deputy to proclaim the new king. A haughty answer was returned: their messenger, in a sudden fit of rage, was ordered by Kildare to be hanged: they again received his mandate by a herald, with terrible denunciations of vengeance, should they make the least delay in complying with his commands: they, however, continued obstinately firm to the interests of the reigning prince, bade defiance to the rebels, and expected and prepared for an invasion [b].

Henry, in order to prevent the infatuation of his Irish subjects from being communicated to those of England, resolved to satisfy the people that the real earl of Warwick was still in his possession. For this purpose his prisoner was taken from the Tower, conveyed publicly through the streets of London, and engaged in conversation with many of the nobility, who could not plead ignorance of his person. But the Yorkists of Ireland rushed too violently into the extravagance of party-zeal to be restrained by such devices. The charge of artifice and imposture was thereby boldly retorted upon Henry, who, it was confidently alleged, had imposed on the credulity of the vulgar by a substituted prince, tricked out in the form of a true Plantagenet. Emissaries were sent into England, where the friends of the house of York were invited to assist their rightful prince, and assured of a powerful support.

Meanwhile Henry, fully informed of the designs of his enemies, took such measures as were in his power to defeat them. Orders were issued for guarding the coasts both of Ireland and Flanders, and preventing any supplies being conveyed to the malecontents. Care was taken

[b] Ware.

that the papal bulls, by which the dreadful ſentence of excommunication was denounced againſt all who preſumed to queſtion the right of Henry's ſucceſſion, ſhould be promulgated in Ireland: new complaints were made at the court of Rome, and the pope entreated to exert his ſpiritual authority againſt the Iriſh revolters. But the fear of papal vengeance operated only upon ſome biſhops. Another Iriſh chieftain, of no inconſiderable power, took advantage of the commotions in the ſeat of government, and ravaged the Engliſh Pale without controul. Still the lord-deputy and his adherents were attentive to no other object, than that of deciding the right of ſucceſſion to the throne of England: and now, to animate their hopes, two thouſand veteran troops arrived from Flanders, under the command of Swaart, a valiant and experienced leader, attended by the earl of Lincoln, viſcount Lovel, and other conſiderable malecontents of England.

The appearance of ſuch ſupport inſpired the partizans of the young adventurer with the utmoſt confidence. Uncontrouled in Ireland, except by the impotent diſſent of ſome individuals, they imagined that no great difficulties could be experienced in England, and fancied themſelves ſecure of all the advantages to be expected from a revolution. In the mean time it was reſolved to proceed to the ſolemn coronation of their favourite prince. He was conducted in ſtate to the cathedral, called Chriſt-Church, attended by the lord-deputy and the other officers of ſtate, as well as the Engliſh lords, and a great number of his adherents. The biſhop of Meath explained and enforced his right to the crown from the pulpit; it was formally recognized by thoſe who attended the ceremonial; and a crown, ſaid to have been taken from a ſtatue of the Virgin, was placed on his head, amidſt the acclamations of the people. To complete the royal character, the young king iſſued his writs of ſummons, and convened a parliament, in which laws were enacted, ſubſidies granted, and the utmoſt vengeance denounced againſt thoſe who preſumed to reſiſt the new government. The whole adminiſtration of public affairs was conducted for ſome time regularly in the name of Edward VI. The leaders of the inſurrection now began to think not only of eſtabliſhing the dominion of their ſovereign in Ireland, but of expelling the reigning prince from England. It was propoſed to continue in their preſent ſituation, and by making Ireland the ſeat of war, to draw Henry into this country. His jealouſy, they concluded, would prompt

 him

him to attend the expedition in person; and his absence from England could not fail of raising dangerous commotions in the state. The people, however, pressed clamorously to be led into England; an embarkation was accordingly prepared; and the insurgents landed in Lancashire, at a place called Foudrey, where they were joined by sir Thomas Broughton and his troop.

The earl of Kildare had been left in Dublin, to attend the affairs of government. His brother, lord Thomas Fitz-Gerald, was so sanguine in the hopes of success, that he resigned the place of Irish chancellor, to follow the fortunes of Simnel; and with Maurice, another brother, attended on the earl of Lincoln, who took the lead in this enterprize. His army, which directed its course towards York, affected the strictest regularity, but was every where received with silent astonishment. There remained for them now no hope but in a speedy and decisive action. The king advanced upon them, and was reinforced by the well-affected: the rebels with equal alacrity marched to meet him. Near a village called Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, both parties came to an engagement, in which the rebels were totally routed. The earl of Lincoln, the lords Thomas and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Plunket, and other Irishmen of distinction, the gallant Swaart, and sir Thomas Broughton, all fell upon the field of battle. Among the prisoners, Simnel himself, with the priest his tutor, had the misfortune to fall into the king's hands. The former, as the most effectual means to mortify his adherents, was consigned to the menial offices of the royal kitchen, and afterwards advanced to the rank of falconer to the king; but the priest was doomed to perpetual imprisonment.

The subjects of Ireland were now awakened from their dream of riches and honours, to a sense of their temerity, and the resentment of a rigid prince, whom they had so highly offended. Letters arrived from Henry to the citizens of Waterford, commending the fidelity, which they had shewn to his government, and encouraging them in an opposition to the earl of Kildare and the citizens of Dublin[c]. A papal bull was directed to those prelates who had not given their countenance to the rebellion, the archbishops of Cathel and Tuam, and the bishops of Clogher and Ossory, to inflict the usual ecclesiastical censures on the the delinquent clergy, in which number were involved

[c] MSS. Trin. Col. Dub.

the primate of Armagh (though he had refuſed to aſſiſt at the coronation of Simnel), the archbiſhop of Dublin, and the prelates of Meath and Kildare. To divert the ſtorm of vengeance, which was now gathering, the earl of Kildare and other lords inſtantly diſpatched to the king ſome of their adherents, by whom they acknowleged their fault, and palliated it by ſuch pretences as they could deſire, humbly imploring pardon, and promiſing henceforth the moſt dutiful attachment to his government. Henry, from motives of policy, contented himſelf for the preſent with anſwering the ſubmiſſions of his Iriſh ſubjects by declarations of pardon, attended, however, with ſevere reflections on their folly and diſloyalty. Kildare was aſſured that the royal grace muſt entirely depend upon his future dutiful conduct, and was continued in the government [d].

But, notwithſtanding this appearance of reconciliation between the king and his Iriſh ſubjects, ſomething farther was ſtill neceſſary to compoſe the affairs of that country. Sir Richard Edgecumbe was ſent into Ireland with a troop of five hundred men, to oblige the ſubjects to renew their oaths of allegiance, and to tender the royal pardon upon ſuch conditions as might aſſure the king of their future loyalty. Edgecumbe, on his arrival at the harbour of Kinſale, poſſibly from ſome apprehenſions of the diſpoſitions of the people, at firſt refuſed to land, but obliged Barry, a principal lord in this diſtrict, to attend him on board his ſhip, there to take the oath of allegiance, and do homage for his barony. He was, however, prevailed upon to honour the city with his preſence; and the oath and homage of lord Courcey were received in the church with greater form. He thence proceeded in a coaſting voyage to Waterford, where his only buſineſs was to commend and confirm the loyalty of the inhabitants. On his arrival in the harbour of Dublin, the magiſtrates were prepared to receive him with the utmoſt ſubmiſſion. But Kildare, who had now recovered from his firſt alarm, began to recollect his own power and conſequence, and ſhowed no readineſs to attend the king's commiſſioner; and when he at length conſented to an interview, he behaved towards Edgcumbe with an unbecoming haughtineſs. The earl, however, agreed to do homage and fealty, and to give the aſſurance of the moſt ſolemn oaths for his future fidelity. But ſome additional ſecurity (the nature of which is not diſtinctly mentioned)

[d] Ware.

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was required, which was either offenſive to the pride, or prejudicial to the intereſts of the earl and other great lords. Objections were raiſed, and the parties at firſt ſeparated in diſguſt. After various negociations, homage and fealty were performed in a ſolemn and public manner by the earl of Kildare, with other lords and prelates, and they were abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication. Kildare was preſented with a chain of gold from the king, in token of perfect reconciliation. The only perſon to whom the royal pardon was denied, was Keating, the prior of Kilmainham, who had become particularly obnoxious by his zeal in the cauſe of Simnel. He was ejected from his office of conſtable of Dublin caſtle, obliged to ſave himſelf by flight, and ended a life of contention in the moſt abject poverty.

The earl of Kildare, continued lord-deputy, was left to purſue the uſual courſe of adminiſtration, and to repel the Iriſh invaders, whoſe outrages had increaſed during the late commotions. But a general pardon could not at once allay the jealouſies and animoſities of rival lords. The few who boaſted of their attachment to the throne in a time of general revolt, rated their own ſervices and ſuffering at the higheſt value, inceſſantly ſolicited for favours and preferments, and repreſented to the king, that they themſelves alone, of all his Iriſh ſubjects, were worthy of the royal confidence. The primate of Armagh was particularly ſolicitous to ſupplant the earl of Kildare, and urgently repreſented the neceſſity of his being appointed chancellor, in order to controul the enormous power of the deputy. Kildare was no leſs aſſiduous in defeating theſe ſecret practices. Henry heard the ſeveral repreſentations with attention and reſerve; and though he deemed it imprudent to make at preſent any alteration in his Iriſh government, he ſummoned into England the earl of Kildare, and other lords of the greateſt conſequence. They attended him at Greenwich, where, after ſome expoſtulations, they received a confirmation of the royal grace. At a banquet to which they were invited, Simnel was appointed to officiate as a butler, to ſtrike the Iriſh lords with the more forcible impreſſion of their own folly [e].

The earl of Kildare reſumed his government with full power, and exerciſed it for ſome time in peace and ſplendor, until the affairs of England again afforded new occaſion for the revival of factions. Another pretender to the

[e] Ware.

crown aſſumed the name of Richard, duke of York, and was patronized by the reſtleſs ducheſs of Burgundy. It was reſolved that this adventurer alſo ſhould make his firſt appearance in Ireland, but in the mean time, Perkin Warbeck (ſo he was called) retired to Portugal, until a fair occaſion ſhould preſent itſelf for aſſerting his pretenſions. The deſign, however ſecretly conducted, eſcaped not the vigilance of Henry, who determined to make ſuch diſpoſitions in the Iriſh government, as he deemed beſt
A D. 1492. ſuited to his intereſts. The earl of Kildare was removed from the adminiſtration, and Walter, the archbiſhop of Dublin, ſubſtituted in his room, as deputy to the duke of Bedford. The chief juſtice, Plunket, was raiſed to the ſtation of lord chancellor, and the baron of Portleſter, who had enjoyed the office of treaſurer for forty years, was obliged to reſign in favour of ſir James Ormond, natural ſon of that earl who had died on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Kildare, diſguſted at this abrupt removal, was ſtill more provoked at ſeeing Ormond return to Ireland, veſted with high authority, to revive the power of his rivals, the Butlers. The knight, on his part, was little careful to keep terms with the hereditary enemy of his houſe. The mutual animoſity and pride of theſe competitors burſt forth at once on the arrival of Ormond. They flew to arms, without the leaſt regard to the authority of government, and continued their petty diſſenſion to the great annoyance of the Engliſh ſubjects, as well as the encouragement of the Iriſh inſurgents.

Meanwhile, archbiſhop Walter convened a parliament, in which every tranſaction ſeems to have been calculated for the mortification of Kildare and his aſſociates. Beſide ſeveral others, an act was paſſed for the reſumption of all grants from the firſt year of Henry VI. an uſual inſtrument of faction and revenge.

A D 1493. Such was the ſtate of the Iriſh government, when Perkin Warbeck was ſent into this kingdom. He landed on the ſouthern coaſt, without troops or retinue, or any proviſions for exciting an inſurrection; appeared in the city of Corke in the character of Richard Plantagenet who had eſcaped from the Tower, and was received and entertained by the chief magiſtrate with all the reſpect due to this young prince. He thence ſent letters to the earls of Kildare and Deſmond, acknowleging their loyal attachment to the family of York, and intreating their aſſiſtance for the recovery of his rights. The manner in which

which Kildare received this invitation, though not explicit, was at leaſt ſuſpicious. Deſmond, without reſerve, at once declared in favour of the new adventurer. But before his appearance in Ireland could produce any conſiderable effect, he was ſuddenly called into France by the preſſing applications of king Charles, who deemed him a convenient inſtrument to his purpoſe of forcing Henry to a peace [f].

The ſhort reſidence of Warbeck in Ireland ſerved to inflame the violence of faction, to excite jealouſies, and to afford occaſion for intereſted reports and accuſations at the court of England. The Engliſh Pale had been ſeverely viſited by the malady called the ſweating-ſickneſs, which was ſucceeded by a famine; but theſe calamities could not ſuſpend the faction and rivalſhip of the great lords. Perpetual complaints were made to Henry by every party, of the dangerous practices and deſigns of their competitors. The king, harraſſed by repeated accounts of the diſorders ſubſiſting among his ſubjects in Ireland, ſuddenly diſpatched a mandate to the archbiſhop of Dublin to repair to England, and lay before him a full detail of all the circumſtances of his Iriſh government. Preſton, lord Gormanſton, was appointed lord-deputy in his room; and though his powers were more limited than thoſe uſually annexed to his office, yet, as he was well known to be a partizan of the Geraldines, his advancement proved offenſive to their opponents. Kildare, and thoſe lords who had formerly been united with him, chearfully concurred in ſupport of the new deputy, and aſſociated for the protection of the Engliſh borders; but their antagoniſts were violent in oppoſition to Gormanſton. He convened a parliament at Drogheda: they refuſed obedience to its ſtatutes; alleging, that it had been aſſembled irregularly, and that the deputy had no power by his commiſſion to aſſemble a parliament.

Meanwhile, archbiſhop Walter attended on the king, by whom he was favourably received. The earl of Kildare, in particular, dreaded the effect of his repreſentations. To guard againſt them, he formed the reſolution to repair to the court of England; where he pathetically repreſented to the king the indefatigable malice of his enemies, in abuſing the royal confidence with falſe accuſations of his conduct. But Henry was by this time fully prepoſſeſſed againſt the earl. This nobleman was given to

[f] Ware.

underſtand, that it was in Ireland where ſuch matters could be accurately examined: that his defence muſt be made in that kingdom; and for this purpoſe he was to attend a new lord-deputy, ſir Edward Poynings, now preparing to embark.

CHAP. III.

Tranſactions from the Year 1494 *to* 1583.

A.D.1494. THE arrival of the new vicegerent was an event attended with great expectation. He was accompanied to his government with a force conſiſting of about a thouſand men; and the offices of lord-chancellor and treaſurer were given to Engliſhmen. The former judges were alſo removed, and Engliſh lawyers of good repute appointed in their room. The plan of the new lord-deputy was nothing leſs than that of a general reformation of the ſtate. But ſome commotions in the northern province obliged him to employ his military force before he could proceed to any important meaſure of civil government. An Iriſh chieftain, called O'Hanlon, had proved remarkably turbulent during all the late diſturbances. Though vigorouſly oppoſed by Kildare, his incurſions were continued, and had grown more formidable by the concurrence of ſome other petty leaders of the northern Iriſh. Poynings marched out to oppoſe him, and was attended not only by ſir James Ormond, but the earl of Kildare, who, in order to regain the royal favour, affected the moſt zealous attachment to the Engliſh intereſt. His rivals, however, watched his conduct with an invidious aſſiduity; and the earl incautiouſly afforded them ſome pretence for inflaming the ſuſpicions already entertained of him by Poynings. The latter was aſſured that Kildare laboured inceſſantly to oppoſe him, and had actually entered into a conſpiracy with O'Hanlon, for his aſſaſſination. Poynings was alarmed; and, to confirm his fears, intelligence was received that lord James, brother to Kildare, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the caſtle of Carlow, in defiance of the royal authority. The earl was arreſted and confined. The deputy, thinking it dangerous to remain in his preſent ſituation, haſtily concluded a treaty with the Iriſh inſurgents; and marching to Carlow, laid ſiege to the caſtle, which capitulated in a few days [s].

[s] Ware.

Poynings

Poynings summoned a parliament to meet at Drogheda, the principal intention of which was to relieve the subjects from oppression, and diminish the enormous influence of the great lords. The statutes enacted by this assembly had a permanent and remarkable effect on the political constitution of Ireland. The most famous of these is the act which still bears his name, and which established the authority of the English government in Ireland; enjoining that no bill shall be introduced into the Irish parliament, unless it previously received the sanction of the council in England.

The severity expressed in this parliament by the deputy against the earl of Kildare and his adherents, seems principally to be imputed to the secret malice of his rivals, though his conduct had not been entirely free from suspicion or offence. Poynings declined to take cognizance of the accusations urged against the earl, but sent him prisoner to Henry. The deputy now returned in a kind of triumph to England, and for his distinguished services received the honour of the Garter. The government of Ireland was entrusted to the bishop of Bangor, who committed the defence of the Pale to Nugent, baron of Delvin; proceeding himself in the ordinary course of administration, while the Irish and degenerate English septs were busied in their contests with each other [h].

Kildare was at length admitted to confront his accusers in the king's presence; when Henry found, instead of a subtle and dangerous conspirator, a man of genuine simplicity. Among other accusations it was urged, that the earl, in one of his lawless excursions, had sacrilegiously burned the church of Cashel to the ground. "Spare your evidence (said Kildare), I did set fire to the church, for I thought the bishop had been in it." This undesigning manner of pleading the aggravation, in excuse of his offence, helped to cast upon the prosecutors an air of ridicule, not unfavourable to the prisoner. They closed their charge with a warm and passionate declaration, that all Ireland could not govern this earl. "Well! (replied Henry) this earl shall then govern all Ireland." The triumph of Kildare was now complete. He was restored to his estate and honours, and consulted about the affairs of his country.

The office of chief governor of Ireland was not now of so great consequence, or so formidable to the crown as in former times; the vicegerent could no longer summon

[h] MSS. Trin. Col. Dub.

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an Iriſh parliament at his pleaſure, and dictate ſuch laws as might give ſanction to his factious purpoſes. The king, therefore, had leſs ſcruple in veſting the earl of Kildare with the powers of government, as deputy to his ſon Henry; though he is ſaid to have detained the earl's ſon in London as a ſecurity for his father's conduct.

Kildare entered upon his government with a ſolicitude to ſupport the intereſts of the crown. He purſued the inſurgents with implacable ſeverity, and drove them from every fort which they had ſeized. In a ſhort time after he completely reduced the degenerate Engliſh clans of Connaught and Munſter; by which the Pale was ſecured from the danger of turbulent inſurgents, though the number of faithful ſubjects was by no means increaſed. The great buſineſs of this lord's adminiſtration was now to compoſe the accidental diſorders which aroſe in particular diſtricts, and to fortify the Engliſh ſettlements, by repairing and erecting caſtles.

From this reign may be dated the revival of the Engliſh power in Ireland, which, from the Scottiſh war in the time of Edward II. had gradually declined to a ſtate of extreme weakneſs. The authority of the crown, which had at laſt been inſulted, even in the Engliſh territory, was reſtored and confirmed by the vigorous ſuppreſſion of the late commotions. The ignominious tribute, for a long time paid to ſeveral Iriſh chieftains, was not withdrawn, but the hoſtilities of ſuch chieftains were oppoſed and chaſtiſed.

A.D.1509. On the acceſſion of Henry VIII. the earl of Kildare was continued in the government of Ireland, and acted with his uſual vigour in repelling inſurgents, quieting commotions, and deciding conteſts in different quarters of the iſland. He was aſſiſtant to ſome of the family of O'Nial, in ſubduing their northern rivals; and, in return, theſe chieftains and their adherents united with him in an expedition into Munſter, where he was to oppoſe a confederacy formed againſt him by O'Brien, ſome of the family of Deſmond, and a degenerate ſept of de Burgo. Thoſe exploits, which are far too minute to be detailed, were yet deemed of ſuch conſequence, that the ſudden ſickneſs and death of this earl, in the year 1513, cauſed a general conſternation among the friends, and a dangerous commotion among the enemies of the Engliſh government. The army which he was preparing to employ, ſuddenly diſperſed in confuſion, and the Engliſh intereſt appeared to be utterly abandoned. In this critical emergency the council and nobles elected Gerald, ſon to the late earl, lord-

lord-deputy; a nomination afterwards approved and confirmed in England. The name of Kildare served to collect the scattered troops, and to check the sudden outrages of the enemy. He marched out to the infested quarters, routed the insurgents, and pursued them with considerable execution; so that in one summer the disorders raised by his father's death were composed.

But, soon after, a fresh occurrence called him again to the field. The superstitious Irish had been persuaded by some prophecy, that the present time was appointed by Providence for the restoration of the ancient power and splendor, which they believed their nation to have formerly enjoyed; and with this prepossession they became extremely tumultuous. They rose in arms in the neighbourhood of Dublin; but by the vigour of Kildare, suffered the punishment due to their temerity[r].

This successful progress, however, was quickly checked by those family feuds which ever subsisted among the noble houses of Ireland[s]. By the death of Thomas, earl of Ormond, the power and consequence of his family devolved, with the title, on Peter, or Piers Butler, as he is called, whose ambition prompted him to oppose the present greatness of the Geraldines. Ormond was sensible that he could not contend with the deputy in the field, and he therefore determined to practise secretly against him at the court of England. For this purpose he endeavoured to recommend himself to cardinal Wolsey by every method of insinuation; and having gained the favour of that minister, easily prepossessed him against a rival, who took no pains to counteract this artifice. It was repeatedly insinuated to Wolsey, that all those apparent advantages which Kildare boasted, had really been purchased by an alienation of the king's revenue, which had been scandalously diverted to his own emolument and that of his adherents: that his consequence arose from his connexions with the enemy, with whom he maintained a traiterous correspondence. These suggestions had such an effect, that Kildare was summoned into England, to answer the charges brought by his enemies; and, by the royal permission, entrusted the reins of government to sir Thomas Fitz-Gerald, of Lackagh, a knight of his own family.

Vague assertions, and general suspicions, could not, with any appearance of justice, essentially affect him; but

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the purpoſe of his rivals was in a great meaſure accompliſhed, by removing him from the government of Ireland. As he could not be condemned, ſo neither was ſentence definitively pronounced in his favour; but he was detained until the king and his miniſters ſhould have leiſure to decide, whether or not he ſhould be reſtored to his ſtation. Kildare improved this interval, by marrying Elizabeth Grey, daughter to the marquis of Dorſet; an alliance which increaſed his conſequence, and determined Wolſey to act with greater circumſpection againſt him. This miniſter repreſented to the king, that his majeſty had been too long diverted from the attention due to the diſordered ſtate of Ireland; that the continual feuds and factions which ſubſiſted among his ſubjects of this country, plainly evinced the impropriety of committing his government to any perſon of the Iriſh race; that it would be prudent to ſeek an active and faithful lord of England, to whom the adminiſtration might be entruſted; ſome perſon utterly unconnected with the factions of Ireland,
A.D. 1520. and indifferent to all contending parties. The advice was fair and plauſible, whatever motives are aſſigned for it. Thomas, earl of Surry, ſon to the duke of Norfolk, was now created lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and ſent thither with one hundred guards, and one thouſand forces of inferior rank [t].

By this appointment, it is ſaid, that the cardinal gained a double advantage, that of removing from court a favourite, by whom he had been particularly offended, and whoſe influence he began to dread, and that of preventing Kildare, againſt whom alſo he had conceived unfavourable prejudices, from being reſtored to his government.

The earl of Surry proceeded to a ſpirited and vigorous adminiſtration of his government, which was one continued courſe of military ſervice, except a ſhort interval of holding a parliament. He reconciled contending lords, and repelled inſurgents. But ſuch exploits are ſo little diverſified, and are ſo deſtitute of ſtriking incidents, that they admit not of a circumſtantial detail. To the popular virtues of moderation, juſtice, and magnificence, he added a zealous ſolicitude for the intereſts of his ſovereign, and a vigilant attention to the circumſtances of the country in which he was ſtationed. After a government of two years, he returned to England with the prayers and acclamations of all the Iriſh ſubjects. At his depar-

[t] Ware. Cox.

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ture he received orders to commit the government to his chief friend and counſellor, Pierce, earl of Ormond, the known rival and inveterate enemy of Kildare.

This lord, who had not the ſame extenſive views of policy with his predeceſſor, deemed it ſufficient to make the beſt proviſion in his power for the ſecurity of the Pale; and as a conſiderable body of forces had been withdrawn on the departure of Surry, he ſolicited from the court of England a few ſhips of war to be ſtationed in the Channel, ſo as to intimidate the ſuſpected Iriſh, and to prevent the Scottiſh rovers from making a deſcent upon Ireland, and infeſting the Engliſh ſettlements. But he was more indebted for the ſecurity of his government to the diſſenſions which raged among the great lords of the Iriſh race, than to any proviſions which he could make. Several of thoſe native lords now made peace in form with the king's lieutenant; but it required a vigorous and reſpectable government to bring them even to the appearance of making peace with each other.

Kildare, on his return to Ireland, though he at firſt affected to co-operate with the deputy, yet practiſed ſecretly to raiſe a factious oppoſition to government, vilified the adminiſtration, and, in a ſhort time, avowed his enmity to Ormond. At length thel atter was recalled, and the former again appointed governor.

Kildare had not long enjoyed the vicegerency, when the ambition of his kinſman Deſmond threatened to involve him in diſgrace and danger. The lord of this name continued, like his predeceſſors, to live in the rude magnificence of his vaſt poſſeſſions, claiming the privilege of abſenting himſelf from parliament, and never, on any ſummons, being obliged to come within the walls of a fortified town. The little allegiance which he ſtill retained to the crown might be eaſily corrupted, and an opportunity ſoon offered of putting it to a deciſive trial. Henry having been ſeduced by the emperor to declare war againſt France, the French king, in order to embarraſs his operations, determined to raiſe ſome commotions in Ireland: for this purpoſe he opened a negociation with the earl of Deſmond, whoſe vanity he flattered by affecting to regard him as an independent prince. Their treaty was conducted on each ſide with all the forms of ſovereign dignity, and they mutually agreed to an offenſive and defenſive alliance with each other. The diſcovery of this tranſaction enraged Henry to the utmoſt againſt his Iriſh vaſſal. Orders were immediately diſpatched to the lord-deputy to ſeize the earl of Deſmond; but theſe orders,

from a partiality to his kinſman, the former ſcrupled not to
A.D.1524. evade. Kildare, indeed, led his forces into Munſter; Deſmond retired, and was not purſued. The Iriſh leaders of the North grew reſtleſs and turbulent. Kildare was more ſolicitous to eſpouſe the cauſe of his friend and kinſman Con O'Nial, than to make Deſmond priſoner. His enemies, who ſtrictly watched his motions, aeccuſed him at the court of London, of having formed traiterous connections with the rebellious Iriſh, and ſecretly fomenting their inſurrections. Such was the effect of theſe repreſentations, that Kildare was called into England to anſwer the charges preferred againſt him; and, after a long confinement, with difficulty releaſed by the interpoſition of his Engliſh friends, of whom a reſpectable number became ſureties for his future allegiance.

Ireland, during this interval, was expoſed to all the evils of ſhort-lived, feeble, and diſorderly adminiſtrations. The baron of Delvin, who firſt took the direction of affairs, was deſpiſed and invaded by the Iriſh; and, at a parley, to which he was ſeduced by O'Connor, chieftain of O'Fally, was ſeized and confined in priſon. Piers, earl of Oſſory, was ſubſtituted in his place, by authority of the council, until the royal pleaſure ſhould be known; but neither his ſtrengh nor influence was ſufficient to procure the enlargement of lord Delvin. Kildare, though at a diſtance, harraſſed him with an implacable enmity: his daughter, wife to lord Slane, a lady of an active and enterpriſing ſpirit, was diſpatched from England to raiſe a faction againſt Oſſory, under pretence of ſupporting the intereſts of her houſe. She ſoon contrived to involve him in different conteſts with her partizans of the Iriſh race. The whole kingdom ſeemed on the point of conſummate anarchy; nor were the foreign enemies of Henry inattentive to foment theſe diſorders, or to take advantage of the preſent diſpoſitions of the leading chieftains of Ireland.

The ſtate of Ireland received no conſiderable alteration from the appointment of ſir William Skeffington, an Engliſh knight, to the government, as deputy to the duke of Richmond, the king's natural ſon, who was created lord-lieutenant. He was inſtructed to regard the earl of Kildare, now reſtored to the height of favour, as his chief director, but ſtill with a cautious and conciliating management, to prevent all feuds between the Geraldines and the family of Butler.

Kildare at firſt affected the moſt cordial zeal in co-operating with this new deputy, who, by his aſſiſtance, had the

the credit of repelling ſome of the Iriſh inſurgents, and reducing their chieftains to ſubmiſſion. But a lord naturally proud, and accuſtomed to govern, could not long ſupport the mortification of acting an inferior part to an Engliſh knight. He ſought cauſes of complaint, and found various opportunities of diſtreſſing and oppoſing the deputy. Intelligence of the diſgrace and death of Wolſey was received by Kildare with the utmoſt joy; and the apprehenſions from his old and powerful enemy being removed, he proceeded without reſerve. He made the moſt unfavourable repreſentations of Skeffington, and his conduct, at the court of England; and, by the unceaſing aſſiduities of his emiſſaries, and the power of his friends, prevailed with the king to recall his deputy, and once more to entruſt the reins of the Iriſh government in his own hands. To preſerve an appearance of impartiality towards the great factions of the kingdom, lord Butler, ſon to the earl of Oſſory, was made lord high-treaſurer; but this appointment could have little weight in forming a balance againſt the power of Kildare, when the latter contrived, at the ſame time, to have the archbiſhop of Dublin, a favourite of cardinal Wolſey's, deprived of his office of chancellor, and the ſeals committed to his own creature, the primate of Armagh.

The exaltation of this earl ſeemed now confirmed beyond the power of oppoſition, and he uſed it without moderation or reſerve. Inſtead of the ſtate and dignity of a vicegerent, he affected the rude grandeur of an Iriſh chieftain, and ſtood at the head of a wild and rapacious multitude of followers, to the annoyance and terror of thoſe whom he was appointed to protect. Two of his daughters were given in marriage to O'Connor of O'Fally, and O'Carrol, two powerful chieftains; the laws which prohibited theſe connections were treated with ſcorn; and the adminiſtration of government was regarded no farther than as it contributed to eſtabliſh his own perſonal influence and authority. Oſſory and all his friends were treated as enemies to the ſtate; their lands invaded and ravaged without mercy; and all but the partizans of Kildare ſeemed to be excluded from protection. A wound in the head, which the deputy received by engaging in the private quarrel of one of his ſons-in-law, was thought to have diſordered his intellects, and increaſed his extravagance. The enemies of his houſe were inflamed with indignation; the officers of ſtate, and all thoſe immediately dependent on the Engliſh government, were juſtly alarmed at a conduct which threatened the utter ſubverſion

ſion of the intereſts of the crown. They reſolved, therefore, unanimouſly to lay their apprehenſions before the throne. The archbiſhop of Dublin took the lead in thoſe conſultations, and he was aſſiſted by the earl of Oſſory and ſir William Skeffington. It was determined to make the maſter of the Rolls their agent at the court of England; and to commiſſion him, in the name of the lords of the council, to lay the preſent ſtate of Ireland before the king, and to implore his interpoſition for its deliverance.

This application was too intereſting, and too well ſupported, to be received with indifference; and the violence of the king's temper readily fixed on the earl of Kildare as the proper object of his reſentment, even with reſpect to thoſe miſdemeanours which were not imputed to him excuſively [u]. He received the royal mandate to commit the government to ſome perſon for whoſe conduct he could be reſponſible, and to repair to the king without delay. The earl, conſcious of his own delinquency, laboured, by every artifice, to evade this order. He pleaded the critical ſituation of his government, and the inſurrections of the Iriſh, which rendered his abſence highly inconvenient to the king's ſervice. His wife was diſpatched into England, to prevail upon her friends to ſupport and enforce theſe allegations; but the king was inflexible, and the earl was under the neceſſity to obey. As he had but too much reaſon to dread that his own outrages on the poſſeſſions of his rivals would be ſeverely retaliated in his abſence, his firſt care was to ſupply his caſtles with arms and ammunition from the king's ſtores, without regard to the mandate, delivered in the king's name, expreſsly for-
A.D. 1534. bidding this meaſure; and thus he excited ſuſpicion of ſome attempt againſt the government. But a ſtep ſtill more fatal, was that of entruſting the adminiſtration, on his departure, to his ſon Thomas, a youth ſcarcely twenty-two years of age.

Lord Thomas, to the raſhneſs of youth, and a natural violence of temper, joined an inſolent contempt of the rivals of his houſe, and a boyiſh confidence in the power of the Geraldines, which he conceived that no force in Ireland could withſtand. He treated the lords of the council with a petulant haughtineſs; was obſtinate, credulous, and precipitate; and thus at once expoſed to the artifice of his enemies, and the adulation of his friends. His father, it was known, had been committed to the Tower; but at a time when no regular intercourſe was eſtabliſhed between the two kingdoms, any certain intel-

[u] Stanih.

ligence

ligence was difficult to be obtained. Conjectures were idly formed, and rumours spread abroad, that the earl had been executed, and that his whole family was threatened with the royal vengeance. The partizans of the house of Butler, and the dependents of Skeffington, received these reports with eagerness, and conveyed them to their associates with the utmost exultation. Some of their letters, on this occasion, were casually intercepted, and brought to the lord deputy, who was thus confirmed in the persuasion that his father had been put to death. He consulted with his Irish associates on what measures to pursue. They advised him to revenge the injuries of his family; promised him their assistance; and lord Thomas was at once embarked into a desperate rebellion [b].

Attended by a body of one hundred and forty well armed cavalry, he entered the city of Dublin; and, with all his rude and disorderly followers, rushed tumultuously into the council, then assembled in St. Mary's Abbey. The lords were alarmed; but the deputy soon quieted their apprehensions. He assured them, that, however injuriously his family had been treated, and though he was now obliged to take arms for avenging his father's death, and defending himself from his enemies, he yet determined to proceed with the generosity of a soldier, and to denounce a fair and open war: that he resigned the sword of state, and was resolved to depend upon his own force. He warned them to avoid him as an enemy; for that he was no longer the deputy of king Henry, but his mortal foe.

Those among the lords who had no previous intimation of this wild design, were astonished at his conduct. Cromer, the primate and chancellor, had been informed of it; and, with great composure, took the young lord by the hand, and requested to be heard in a few words. He pathetically represented the rashness, weakness, and iniquity, of his present attempt, grounded on uncertain rumour, and utterly unwarrantable, even if this rumour should be confirmed. After representing to him, in the strongest colours, the misery, both personal and national, which must be the consequence of pursuing such conduct, he conjured him to desist, before his offence should become too enormous for the royal clemency to pardon.

His speech, delivered with emotion, and in a language not understood by the Irish followers of lord Thomas,

[b] Cox.

was received with emotions of congratulation, and interpreted according to their own rude ideas. They conceived that the prelate encouraged him in his enterprize, and was pronouncing an encomium on the brave and noble youth. One of their native bards, who attended in his train, inſtantly began to chant out the praiſes of young Thomas in his country-rhimes; extolling his greatneſs, chiding his delay, and calling him to take immediate revenge in the field for the injuries of his family. The effuſions of an ignorant and heated rhapſodiſt had unhappily a greater influence than the ſage counſels of the prelate; and the young Geraldine ruſhed forth at the head of his Iriſh train. As the citizens of Dublin were not prepared to oppoſe him, and had been lately weakened by the plague, he hovered about the city unmoleſted, collecting his followers, and concerting his operations. In the mean time, the Iriſh ſepts readily joining his ſtandard, he was ſoon enabled to traverſe the pale with his tumultuary army, exacting of the inhabitants an oath of fidelity, and ſeizing and impriſoning thoſe who refuſed to concur in his rebellion. During theſe tranſactions, his emiſſaries were diſpatched both to the pope and the empeperor, from a vain expectation of receiving foreign ſuccours.

The devaſtation of that diſtrict called Fingal, the granary of Dublin, at length obliged the citizens to make ſome effort to oppoſe this inſurrection. A ſkirmiſh, in which the inſurgents proved ſucceſsful, increaſed their inſolence. Lord Thomas appeared before the gates of Dublin, threatening to deſtroy the whole city with fire and ſword, unleſs the inhabitants ſhould permit him, without moleſtation, to lay ſiege to the caſtle, whither the lords and officers of ſtate had fled for ſhelter. The conſtable collected his ſtores and proviſions from the city; and, relying upon his ſtrength, conſented, that the citizens ſhould ſave their habitations from the havock of a barbarous army, by treating with lord Thomas upon his own terms. Alan, archbiſhop of Dublin, who was alſo in the caſtle, more timorous, and reflecting that he was particularly obnoxious to the rebels, as having been the chief inſtrument in the diſgrace of the earl of Kildare, determined to ſeek refuge in England. A veſſel was provided with the utmoſt ſecrecy, and the prelate embarked; but, whether by the perfidy or unſkilfulneſs of the pilot (a Fitz-Gerald), the ſhip was ſtranded near Clontarff, and Alan ſoon diſcovered by the enemy in an adjacent village. They

They dragged him from his bed in barbarous triumph, and led him, naked as he was, to their captain. The prelate fell on his knees, imploring mercy for a Christian and a churchman. The young lord, without deigning to reply, turned his horse, and exclaimed in the Irish language, "Away with the churl!" His savage partizans, interpreting the expression in the most malignant sense, while the wretched suppliant still lifted up his hand for mercy, assailed, and hewed him to pieces [b].

Notwithstanding the deadly feuds which had subsisted between the family of lord Thomas and the house of Butler, he now sent a messenger to the earl of Ossory, reminding him of their connection and affinity, entreating that all former animosities should be buried in oblivion, and inviting him to unite with his countrymen in the common cause of liberty, and to share the glory of rescuing the island from a foreign yoke. He even proposed, in express terms, that Ireland, now to be reduced by their united powers, should be divided between them. But the proposal was received with indignation: and Thomas, having resolved to chastise the earl, committed the siege of Dublin to a detachment of his adherents, and marched with his main body into the demesnes of Ossory. The whole princely extent of the earl's lands were at once exposed to the ravages of a triumphant enemy, who rioted uncontrouled, without any immediate object but that of outrage and plunder.

But those ravagers were soon recalled by intelligence received from Dublin [c]. One of the magistrates had been dispatched to the court of England, to inform the king of the rebellion raised by young Fitz-Gerald, and to request such succours as might enable his loyal subjects to restore tranquillity to the state. The messenger was now returned with letters from Henry, assuring them of an immediate and effectual support. The inhabitants, animated by this intelligence, were readily persuaded that no faith or truce was to be kept with traitors. They suddenly shut their gates; and the party which had by compact been permitted to assail the castle, was cooped up, and destined to destruction. A few of them contrived, in the first confusion, to plunge into the river, and escape by swimming; but the greater part was overpowered and made prisoners. Lord Thomas affected the utmost indignation at this treachery of the citizens, threatened the

[b] Ware. [c] Ibid.

ſevereſt vengeance, and, having ſummoned all his adherents of the Pale to attend him, he appeared before the walls of Dublin, and demanded that his men ſhould be releaſed. This being peremptorily refuſed, he formed the ſiege, for which his diſordered numbers had neither ſufficient ſkill nor neceſſary proviſions.

The repeated ill ſucceſs of his moſt deſperate aſſaults rendered his cauſe every day more deſperate. Juſt at the moment when the furious Iriſh, in a fit of deſperation, had ſet fire to one of the gates, the citizens ruſhed out, exclaiming that the royal army was arrived, diſperſed and purſued them with conſiderable ſlaughter, and had well nigh taken their leader. The pride of lord Thomas was now ſeverely mortified; he began to ſee the vanity of his dreams of conqueſt and dominion, and the dangerous iſſue of the meaſures into which he had been precipitated. He propoſed to raiſe the ſiege, provided that his men were releaſed; that the citizens ſhould ſupply him with money, ammunition, and artillery; and that they ſhould uſe their good offices with the king to grant full pardon to him and his confederates. The demand of money and ſtores was rejected with diſdain; but as he had ſeized a number of the children of the citizens, who had been removed from Dublin during the plague, they conſented that his ſoldiers ſhould be exchanged for theſe. They alſo promiſed to uſe their beſt offices with the king that he might obtain pardon. Lord Thomas readily accepted theſe conditions, and drew off his army.

But the deluſion of this infatuated youth was not yet evaporated. His next attempt was to oppoſe the forces ſent from England, the tranſports with which now appeared in the harbour. By going to review the ſtate of his garriſon at Maynooth, the ſtrongeſt of his caſtles, he had already ſuffered one detachment to make good their landing on the northern ſhore; but before they had gained the city, he encountered them vigorouſly, and was received with equal bravery. The conteſt ended in the total defeat of the Engliſh, notwithſtanding all the efforts of their commander, who had the honour of encountering and wounding lord Thomas. The whole detachment was either killed or made priſoners. The rebels, elevated with ſucceſs, planted their artillery upon the promontory of Howth, whence they cannonaded the veſſels at anchor, and others advancing towards the ſhore with freſh ſupplies. But ſir William Brereton, a brave Engliſh knight, with about five hundred men, contrived to land

on the oppoſite ſhore, and entered the city. He was followed by ſir William Skeffington, appointed lord-deputy, with another troop, and ſeveral gallant officers, ſent by the king to aſſiſt him. The public rejoicings in the city announced the arrival of their expected ſuccours; and lord Thomas had now no other reſource than that of a ſpeedy retreat into Connaught, to practiſe with the Iriſh chieftains, and, if poſſible, to procure ſuch a force as might enable him to meet the new governor in the field.

Neither the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, nor the temper of the new governor, favoured a vigorous proſecution of the war. He marched as far as Drogheda, from an apprehenſion that lord Thomas intended to inveſt this city; and finding that he had retired into the Weſt, returned to the ſeat of government. In the enſuing ſpring a reſolution was formed to inveſt the caſtle of Maynooth, and this enterprize was entruſted to the conduct of ſir William Brereton. Fourteen days were waſted without the beſiegers being able to make any impreſſion, and there ſeemed to be no proſpect of carrying the place, when the caſtle was betrayed by one of the garriſon for a ſtipulated reward.

Meanwhile young Geraldine led a tumultuary army from the provinces of Ulſter and Connaught to the relief of his caſtle: but no ſooner were they informed of its being taken, than they deſerted in great numbers. With the remainder of his army lord Thomas ſtill ventured to ſeek the deputy in the field. One hundred and forty of his gallowglaſſes had the misfortune to be intercepted and made priſoners: and as intelligence was received that the rebels advanced to give battle, Skeffington, with a barbarous precaution, ordered theſe unhappy men to be ſlaughtered; an order ſo effectually executed, that only one of the number eſcaped the carnage. This cruel and premature meaſure was the more blameable, as the event ſhowed it to be unneceſſary; for the Iriſh, who had not before abandoned lord Thomas, ſhrunk at the firſt diſcharge of the Engliſh artillery [d].

From a daring rebel, at the head of a formidable army, the unhappy young lord now found himſelf reduced by his folly to a wretched outlaw, attended only by a few partizans of his family; ſubſiſtence, and not the thirſt of dominion, being now the object of his predatory excur-

[d] Ware.

ſions. Driven through various ſcenes of wretchedneſs, he at length made his eſcape into Munſter, where it ſeems not improbable that he conceived ſome hopes of aſſiſtance from his kinſman of the houſe of Deſmond. But in this he was diſappointed, and was ſoon after followed into Munſter by lord Leonard Grey, one of the moſt active and warlike attendants on the lord-deputy. After ſome inconſiderable ſkirmiſhes, without any deciſive advantage on either ſide, overtures of a treaty were propoſed by the Engliſh, and readily accepted by Fitzgerald, who, being now abandoned by thoſe on whom he chiefly relied, had no other reſource but ſubmiſſion. It is ſaid that he ſtipulated expreſsly for the ſecurity of his perſon; that he received the lord-deputy's faithful promiſe of a pardon; and that their covenants were ratified by a ſolemn participation of the ſacrament. However this may be, he certainly received ſuch aſſurances of favour, at leaſt of a powerful recommendation to the king, that he conſented to diſmiſs his troops, and to attend lord Grey to Dublin.

The ſuppreſſing of this rebellion, and receiving the ſubmiſſions of O'Nial and O'Connor, cloſed the adminiſtration of Skeffington, who in theſe tranſactions ſeems to have had no great perſonal merit. On his death, which happened near Dublin, lord Grey was choſen deputy by the council, until the royal pleaſure ſhould be known; and their nomination was ſoon after confirmed by the king.

Meanwhile lord Thomas, the unhappy author of the late diſorders, was ſent into England, and prepared to caſt himſelf at the king's feet, in full confidence of pardon. But whatever were the promiſes of the Iriſh deputy, or however favourable the repreſentation of the Iriſh council, neither the violence of Henry's temper, nor the impreſſions which he had received from the enemies of Fitz-Gerald, ſeemed to afford much hope of mercy. The young lord was arreſted on his way to Windſor, and conveyed to the Tower. He had now the ſevere mortification of diſcovering that he had been driven to all his outrages by falſe rumours. He found that his father was not put to death, but had lived to hear of the rebellion of his ſon, and ſunk under the ſevere affliction which this intelligence had occaſioned him. He was for a while left to the tormenting ſenſe of his own folly; while the king affected to conſider the ſuppreſſion of the late rebellion as a new conqueſt of Ireland; and propoſed it as a queſtion, to be debated in his council, whether he had now acquired a right to ſeize at once on all the eſtates, ſpiritual as well

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as temporal, of this kingdom: but above all, he breathed the most furious revenge against the whole lineage of Kildare. The new lord-deputy received orders to seize five uncles of lord Thomas's, and to send them prisoners to London. Of these three were known to have entirely disapproved and opposed the insurrection of their nephew; and all of them had reason to expect impunity from the treaty made with the rebels. But this confidence proved fatal to their cause. They accepted the invitation of lord Grey to a banquet, where, after being insidiously entertained, with all the appearance of amity, they were made prisoners. Being then conveyed to London, they, with their nephew, were condemned, and suffered the punishment of high-treason [e]. The king's vengeance pursued even lord Thomas's brother, a youth of only twelve years of age; but happily, by the vigilance of his guardians, he was secreted and conveyed to his aunt, the widow of Mac Arthy, the Irish chieftain of South Munster. This lady, solicitous to preserve the remaining hope of her family, consented to a second marriage with another chieftain, named O'Donnel, on the express condition that he should protect her nephew: but being soon convinced of the insincerity of her husband, who sought to recommend himself to the English government by delivering up this youth, she conveyed him into France, where the king entertained him; and when Henry had the meanness to demand him as a rebel subject, favoured his escape to Flanders. The like demand was made to the emperor, when this young lord had escaped to his court, but with like success. He was permitted to seek the protection of cardinal Pole, who, in defiance of his declared enemy, king Henry, received Fitz-Gerald as his kinsman, educated him suitably to his birth, and, by his favour and support, preserved him to regain the honours of the family of Kildare.

During the course of these events, the doctrines of Luther had made an amazing progress, and Henry, having successfully prosecuted his scheme of reformation in England, resolved to extend it into Ireland; but the task was found more difficult than was at first suspected [f]. This was not a country for those circumstances to operate, which favoured the first reformers in other parts of Europe. A people not connected by one and the same system of polity, harrassed by a perpetual succession of petty wars, distracted by mutual jealousy, and living in conti-

[e] Cox. [f] Usher. Ware.

nual alarm, could have little leiſure for ſpeculation, and little diſpoſition for thoſe enquiries, which were purſued with ſuch avidity in countries more compoſed. And among the fatal conſequences of excluding the old natives from the Pale of the Engliſh law, blindneſs and bigotry proved the natural concomitants of a diſquieted, uncivilized, and diſſolute courſe of living. In thoſe dioceſes where law and civilization were more prevalent, the prelates found it impoſſible to extend their paſtoral care or juriſdiction to the diſtricts occupied by the old natives. The Iriſh clergy, when ſummoned to obey their ordinary, were refractory and contumacious, and were excluded from the aſſemblies, where they claimed a right to be preſent as aſſeſſors and coadjutors. In the diſtricts more remote from the ſeat of Engliſh government, where public diſorder chiefly raged, the appointment of prelates and paſtors was ſometimes totally neglected. Biſhops intruded ſurreptitiouſly, or ſeized the ſees by violence, were little known, reverenced, or obeyed; ſometimes enjoyed only an empty title; and ſometimes were driven by the public commotions to the diſcharge of ſome inferior paſtoral function in places of retirement and ſecurity. Prelates of the more eminent dioceſes ſlept in monaſtic tranquillity, while all Europe beſides reſounded with the tumult of theological diſpute.

A clergy without diſcipline or knowlege, and a laity without inſtruction, were, in proportion to their ignorance, abjectly attached to the papal authority. In Ireland, alſo, a particular prejudice operated in favour of the Romiſh church. This country had been for ages conſidered, and induſtriouſly repreſented, as a fief of the pope's, in right of the church of St. Peter. By virtue of this imaginary right, the ſeigniory of the kingdom had been conferred on Henry II. and the Iriſh parliament had occaſionally recognized this to be the only legitimate foundation of the authority of the Engliſh crown. It was, therefore, accounted prophane to deny the authority of the pope in his own acknowleged inheritance.

Commiſſioners were ſent over into Ireland by Henry to confer with the clergy and nobility, and to procure a general acknowlegement of the king's ſupremacy; but no ſooner had they explained their inſtructions, than Cromar, primate of Armagh, an Engliſhman, and who had ſome time held the office of chancellor, openly declared againſt ſo impious a deſign. He ſummoned the ſuffragans and clergy of the province, exhorted them to adhere inviolably to the apoſtolic

apoſtolic chair, and denounced a tremendous curſe againſt all who ſhould ſacrilegiouſly acknowlege the king's ſupremacy [d].

This ſpirited oppoſition of the moſt eminent among the Iriſh prelates, enlivened the zeal of all who adhered to the ſee of Rome. The king's commiſſion was treated with neglect, if not contempt; and his vicar, lord Cromwell, on account of the meanneſs of his birth, became a ſubject of popular ridicule. To carry the king's meaſures into effect, it was deemed adviſable to aſſemble immediately an Iriſh parliament, which, like the Engliſh legiſlature, might by law enforce a general acknowlegement of the king's ſupremacy. A parliament was accordingly convened at Dublin. Whether the affairs of England gave the king no leiſure to attend minutely to the laws to be paſſed in this aſſembly, or whether the apprehenſion of ſome new commotions in Ireland, on account of religion, determined him to cut off all delay, the previous certification and tranſmiſſion of bills agreeably to the law of Poynings, were, on this occaſion, omitted, and the law declared to be ſuſpended by aſſent of the king. A.D.1536.

Having firſt paſſed an act of attainder againſt the late earl of Kildare, and the aſſociates of his rebellious ſon, they proceeded even to adjuſt the right of ſucceſſion to the crown of England, and lordſhip of Ireland. They pronounced the marriage of the king with Catharine of Arragon to be null and void; they declare the inheritance of the crown to be in the king, and his heirs by queen Anne; pronounce it high treaſon to oppoſe this ſucceſſion; miſpriſion of treaſon to ſlander it; and appoint an oath of allegiance to be taken for the eſtabliſhment of it, under the penalties of miſpriſion of treaſon. This act had ſcarcely been paſſed, when intelligence arrived of the condemnation and death of Anne Boleyn, and the marriage of the king with lady Jane Seymour. With the ſame compliance with the king's wiſhes which had been expreſſed in the Engliſh parliament, they inſtantly repealed their recent act; and, by another law, paſſed ſentence of attainder on the late queen, and all who had been accuſed as accomplices in her ſuppoſed infidelity. Both the former marriages were by this act declared null and void; the ſucceſſion now confirmed to the heirs of the king by queen Jane; and, in default of ſuch heirs, Henry was empower-

[d] Carte.

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ed to diſpoſe of the inheritance of the crown of England, and lordſhip of Ireland, by letters-patent, or by will.

With reſpect to the ſcheme of reformation, the king was declared ſupreme head, on earth, of the church of Ireland; all appeals to Rome in ſpiritual cauſes were prohibited; and the Engliſh law againſt ſlandering the king, in conſequence of theſe innovations, was enacted and confirmed in Ireland. By another act, the authority of the biſhop of Romé was more ſolemnly renounced, and the abettors of it in Ireland made ſubject to premunire [h].

The laws which were enacted by this parliament for the regulation of the Pale, and even which declared the right of ſucceſſion to the throne, were received without oppoſition; but thoſe relative to eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction had all the violence of bigotry to encounter. The Romiſh party had collected their adherents, and were prepared for a vigorous contention. The two proctors from each dioceſe, who had uſually been ſummoned to parliament, compoſed a formidable body of eccleſiaſtics, zealous adherents of the holy ſee. They claimed to be members of the legiſlative body, and to have a full right of ſuffrage in every public queſtion. It therefore became neceſſary, before an act of ſupremacy could be propoſed, to define their rights. It was declared by a previous act, that their claim was preſumptuous and groundleſs; that they were ſummoned merely as counſellors and aſſiſtants; and that, from the firſt day of the preſent parliament, they ſhould be accepted as counſellors and aſſiſtants only, whoſe aſſent was by no means neceſſary to any parliamentary tranſaction.

But though the partizans of Rome were thus deprived of the aſſiſtance of ſo powerful a body, yet, when the act of ſupremacy came to be propoſed, lords and commons joined in expreſſing their abhorrence of the ſpiritual authority aſſumed by the king; while the miniſters, and the royal party, were equally determined in defence of it. Browne, who had been provincial of the friars of St. Auguſtine, and noted at London for the ſimplicity of his conduct, as well as for the liberality of his religious ſentiments, was lately created archbiſhop of Dublin, and proved a great abettor of the reformed doctrines in Ireland [i]. This prelate took the lead in ſupporting the king's ſpiritual authority. He pleaded the authority of the popes themſelves againſt the uſurpation of Rome. He declared,

[h] Ware. [i] Life of Archbiſhop Browne.

that

that he freely and conscientiously accepted the king's highness as supreme in both realms, in ecclesiastic as well as civil affairs; and pronounced those who had any difficulty in concurring with him to have no right to be treated as loyal subjects.

Fear served to allay the violence of those who could not be convinced; so that the partizans of Rome thought it prudent to reserve themselves for clandestinely opposing a law which they could not prevent from being enacted. With an ingenuity not unworthy of the ablest disciples of Loyola, they devised a pretence for impeaching the authority of the parliament, and persuading the people, that the offensive laws, enacted in its first sessions, were utterly invalid. The act for the suspension of the law of Poynings contained a provision, that no statutes should be ordained in the present parliament prejudicial to the grants, liberties, customs, or commodities, of the crown, but such only as should be deemed expedient for "the king's honour, the increase of his revenue, and the common weal of his land and dominion of Ireland." The friends of Rome took advantage of this mode of expression: they insisted, that the parliament had no power of enacting any law in which these several circumstances did not all concur; and that whatever laws they should enact, which were not at once conducive to the honour of the king, the advancement of his revenue, and the common weal of Ireland, must be in themselves void of force and authority. But the zeal of the political casuists was so precipitate, that, without waiting the dissolution of this assembly, they propagated their objection during the prorogations of parliament; and thus gave occasion, in the later sessions, to explain the supposed ambiguity; to declare the validity of all laws of the present parliament, enacted for any one of those purposes, and to denounce those guilty of felony who should attempt to invalidate such laws.

To these vigorous decisions of the legislature, it was at this time necessary to add an extraordinary vigilance and activity in the field: nor was the deputy inattentive to the tranquillity of the state. During the intervals of parliament, he traversed the province of Leinster, and the adjacent districts; and obliged the refractory or suspected chieftains to renew their engagements to the English government, by formal indentures of peace and submission.

Meanwhile,

A.D.1538. Meanwhile, the government was threatened with new inquietudes from religious controverſy [l]. Archbiſhop Browne, the great agent of the Iriſh reformation, found the utmoſt difficulty, even in the ſeat of government, to counteract the ſecret practices of Cromer and his party. Several incumbents of the dioceſe of Dublin choſe to reſign their benefices, rather than acknowlege the king's ſupremacy. The clergy had ſent an emiſſary to Rome, to expreſs their devotion to the holy father, and to implore his interpoſition in ſupport of his ſpiritual authority in Ireland: and a private commiſſion had now arrived from Rome to Cromer and his aſſociates, enjoining them to perſevere boldly in ſupport of the papal authority. They were empowered to abſolve thoſe from their oath, who had been perſuaded to acknowlege the king's ſupremacy; and directed to command them, under the penalty of the ſevereſt eccleſiaſtical cenſures, to make confeſſion of their guilt, within forty days; and to enter into new engagements to maintain the authority of the holy ſee, to oppoſe heretics, and to declare all thoſe accurſed who ſhall hold any power, eccleſiaſtical or civil, ſuperior to that of the holy mother church.

While the head of the northern clergy employed all his influence in diſcharge of this commiſſion, the emiſſaries of Rome were no leſs aſſiduous in exciting the chieftains in that quarter to take arms in defence of the ancient religion. A confederacy, headed by O'Nial, was quickly formed, for the ſuppreſſion of hereſy. This chieftain, now reſtored to his former conſequence, declared war againſt all the invaders of the papal rights, led his forces through the territories of Meath, denouncing the terrors of his vengeance againſt all the enemies of the Romiſh church, and committing various outrages without controul. But theſe champions of the church exhauſted their zeal in a vain-glorious defiance of Engliſh government, and, inſtead of proceeding in any well-concerted ſcheme of hoſtilities, they ſeemed contented with the havock they had made, and marched back, with their plunder, in triumph, towards their own ſettlements [m].

The lord-deputy had foreſeen the ſtorm; and, though he had not force ſufficient to prevent this invaſion, he now collected his troops, and was prepared to repel it. The citizens of Dublin and of Drogheda had zealouſly

[l] Life of Archbiſhop Browne. [m] Iriſh MSS.

attended

attended his ſtandard; and, at his requeſt, ſir William Brereton had been diſpatched from England, with a ſmall troop, to his aſſiſtance. So zealous was this knight for his maſter's ſervice, that, though he had the misfortune to fracture his thigh, as he was exerciſing his men on the Engliſh ſhore, he inſiſted on being raiſed by pullies into his ſhip, rather than give the leaſt delay to the embarkation. The governor now boldly led his forces in purſuit of the inſurgents; and, at a place called Bellahoe, on the borders of Meath, came up with a detachment of the Iriſh army, advantageouſly poſted with a river in their front, and prepared to oppoſe his paſſage. Lord Leonard Grey, notwithſtanding, attacked them with great vigour, and they for ſome time made an obſtinate reſiſtance; but being ſtill preſſed by the number and valour of their aſſailants, and diſpirited by the fall of their commander, they were at length broken; and flying in diſmay, communicated the panic to the main body, which lay at ſome diſtance. In an inſtant the whole body diſperſed, and fled precipitately to their different haunts. This victory, which broke the power of the northern Iriſh, and ſtruck terror into the moſt turbulent chieftains, cloſed the ſervices of lord Leonard Grey, who was ſuddenly recalled to England, in conſequence of the intrigues of his enemies.

Among the articles of accuſation, too frivolous to be mentioned, the deputy was charged with betraying lord Thomas Fitz-Gerald into a ſubmiſſion, by a promiſe of pardon, which he was neither empowered to give nor to fulfil, and this with a clandeſtine purpoſe of deſtroying him; with favouring the eſcape of the younger brother of this family, his nephew and favourite; with oppreſſion, bribery, correſpondence with the king's enemies, and the ſacrilegious deſtruction of churches. Witneſſes were examined in Ireland to theſe ſeveral charges; and Grey, who had been committed to the Tower, was brought to his trial for high treaſon. He might have pleaded many arguments, but was unhappily poſſeſſed with dreadful apprehenſions of the king's ſeverity; and, inſtead of awaiting the iſſue of his trial, he ſought mercy by an abject reſignation of his life and honour to a prince incapable of mercy. He pleaded guilty to his indictment, and was beheaded on a ſcaffold.

The removal of this unhappy lord gave new courage to the enemies of government, and the partizans of Rome. The Iriſh chieftains of Ulſter recovered from their conſternation,

ſternation, and once more reſolved to draw the ſword againſt the abettors of hereſy. Theſe were joined by Morrough O'Brien, who had juſt now ſucceeded to the Iriſh ſovereignty of Thomond. They aſſembled in the weſtern part of Meath, and prepared for another deſperate irruption. But ſir William Brereton, to whom Grey had committed the reins of government on his departure, wiſely imitating the conduct of his predeceſſor, marched againſt them with ſuch alacrity as at once confounded their tumultuary numbers. They ſhrunk from their leaders, and fled into different woods, and other inacceſſible retreats.

Theſe repeated diſgraces were followed by a general deſpondency among the diſaffected Iriſh; and the cauſe of the pope became every day more deſperate. Numbers of monaſteries were reſigned into the king's hands; and even the refractory prior of Chriſt-church, in Dublin, loſt all hopes from his ſecret practices at Rome, and ſubmitted to a change of his community into that of a dean and chapter. Several of the moſt active inſurgents now became ſolicitous to make their peace. O'Brien, in particular, ſought to atone for his precipitate revolt by a ſubmiſſion. Thoſe who had not openly engaged in rebellion, who by their conduct or ſituation were ſuſpected, vied with each other in expreſſing their attachment to the crown. Even the earl of Deſmond renounced the privileges hitherto claimed by his family; conſented to obey the writs of ſummons to parliament; abjured the authority of the pope; reſigned his favourite ſon into the hands of the lord-deputy, to be educated in the Engliſh manner; and engaged to perform the ſame ſervices to the government with the earl of Ormond, or any other of the king's moſt faithful ſubjects. The executive power now became more reſpectable than ever; and ſir Anthony Saintleger, to whom Henry had entruſted the adminiſtration, aſſumed his charge at a period which afforded the faireſt preſages of tranquillity and public happineſs. To give greater weight and luſtre to the government, it was reſolved to change the ſtyle of lord of Ireland, with which the Engliſh monarchs had hitherto been contented, to that of king. This title was accordingly conferred by the Iriſh parliament, and announced with the utmoſt joy and ſolemnity.

The deputy had now only to concert meaſures for governing the new ſubjects. In Munſter and Connaught, which had formerly been divided into ſhires, and inhabited

ed in a great part by Engliſh ſettlers, but where the laws of England had been diſuſed for two hundred years, the authority of government was immediately exerted [n]. Some ordinances were alſo enacted by parliament for the regulation of theſe diſtricts: and though no attempts were as yet made to introduce any new ſyſtem of juriſprudence into other quarters of the iſland, a number of commiſſioners was appointed for each province, who were to exerciſe the office of the ancient Bretons, to hear and decide occaſional controverſies, or, where the cauſe was perplexed, or the parties obſtinate, to refer them to the deputy and council. It now likewiſe became a favourite object of the government, to break the dependencies of inferior chieftains and their ſepts, which had hitherto ſo much obſtructed the progreſs of civilization: and the more to ſecure the attachment of the powerful Iriſh lords, they were encouraged to repair to the Engliſh court, where the king received them with every mark of diſtinction, and gratified ſeveral of them with new titles.

By theſe prudent and conciliatory methods, an unuſual degree of peace, for the preſent, ſeemed to have ſpread through the iſland. Nor could the practices of Francis I. when Henry had declared war, and was preparing to invade his kingdom, ſeduce the Iriſh into a revolt. It can ſcarcely be doubted but that, amidſt the different motives which produced the late ſubmiſſions, many were actuated by terror alone, and ſtill retained their averſion to Henry and his government, as well as their affection for the cauſe of Rome, which neceſſity only had obliged them to renounce. But whatever ſchemes of inſurrection they might form, mutual ſuſpicion and diſunion prevented their effect, and rendered their ſecret diſcontents leſs dangerous. So outrageous was the ſpirit of loyalty at this time in Ireland, that when a ſon of Fitz-Patrick, baron of Upper Oſſory, had committed ſome treaſonable offence, he was delivered up to public juſtice by the hands of his own father [o].

The civil affairs of Ireland, during the reign of Edward VI. afford nothing for the hiſtorian beyond a jejune and frivolous catalogue of petty incidents. Sir Anthony Saintleger, whoſe adminiſtration had been honourable to himſelf, and of eſſential ſervice to the crown, was, as uſual, expoſed to jealouſies and diſcontent, when, in the latter part of Henry's reign, a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities gave A.D. 1546. *Edward VI.*

[n] Davis. [o] Cox. Davis.

leiſure

leisure for factions in the state. The exhausted condition of the exchequer had prompted him to form some scheme of taxation, which Ormond and his partizans strenuously opposed, as illegal and oppressive. The contest grew violent; and was accompanied with such circumstances as afforded ground of mutual impeachment. At last, their complaints were brought before the king; and, by his mediation, quieted for the present; but afterwards extinguished with the death of Ormond, who, either by accident, or some undiscoverable treachery, was poisoned at a feast in Ely-house, with sixteen persons of his retinue. Saintleger was reinstated in his government; and, on the accession of Edward VI. confirmed in it.

As the severe character of the late king had probably not a little contributed to the submission of the Irish, who might be inclined to revolt, on the accession of an infant prince, it was deemed proper, in the English council, to send Bellingham, a brave and experienced commander, with six hundred horse and four hundred foot, to the support of the government in Ireland. The arrival of this reinforcement was extremely seasonable; for O'Moore, chieftain of Leix, and O'Connor of O'Fally, on pretence of some injuries received, had drawn the sword, and spread disorder through the province of Leinster. Bellingham instantly joined the lord-deputy; and little difficulty was found, with their united forces, in quelling the insurrection. Bellingham received for his reward the honour of knighthood, and the government of Ireland; which he exercised for some time in a perpetual state of agitation, amidst the intestine disorders of the Irish, and the factions formed against him by the great subjects of the old English race, who envied his power, or were dissatisfied with his administration. At length, the clamours and insinuations of his enemies deprived the kingdom of the services of this active governor; and, on the sudden death of sir Francis Bryan, his immediate successor, Brabazon was chosen deputy by the council, and proceeded for some time in the usual course of quieting and conciliating the chieftains, whose pride or injuries had prompted them to some hostile attempts. But as the English council was resolved to extend the use of the reformed liturgy into Ireland, sir Anthony Saintleger, as a man of abilities and experience, was sent thither in the cha-
A.D. 1550. racter of lord-deputy, with instructions to convene a parliament. Whether from the apprehensions of a violent opposition to the measures of government, or from whatever

ever other cause, the design of assembling a parliament was postponed, and the royal proclamation was transmitted, addressed to the clergy, and enjoining the acceptance of the new liturgy.

On the death of Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, Robert Waucop had been nominated to this see by the pope. But, in defiance of this nomination, Henry, at the instance of Saintleger, transmitted his mandate for the appointment of John Dowdal, a native of Ireland, to the primacy; a man whose devotion to Rome outweighed his gratitude either to the king or the deputy. He stood forth at the head of the northern clergy, a bold and determined opposer of the royal proclamation. He treated with the utmost scorn the new liturgy, by which, he said, every illiterate fellow might be enabled to read mass. Saintleger replied, that there were indeed too many illiterate priests, as ignorant of the language in which divine service had hitherto been performed as the people who attended; but that the new liturgy was calculated for the edification of both. He was interrupted by Dowdal, who, in a stern and haughty tone, admonished him to beware of the clergy's curse. After some farther altercation, the primate arose, and, departing from the assembly, was followed by almost all his suffragans. Browne, who now remained the first in dignity among the prelates, declared his acceptance of the king's order; the bishops of Meath, Kildare, Leighlin, and Limerick, concurred; and the A D. 1551.
liturgy was soon after read in Christ-church, Dublin, in the presence of the deputy, magistrates, and clergy.

The hardy opposition of Dowdal, and his seceding associates, naturally tended to procure them popularity, and to confirm the natives in their affection for the ancient worship. From their bold opposition to government, it was readily presumed by the vulgar, that they were actuated by the conscientious motive of sincere persuasion; and, in proportion to this belief, the prejudices of the people became violent against the opposite party, whom they were taught to consider as men void of principle, and who sacrificed the interests of religion to the favour of a court. The prejudices conceived against the Reformation, by the Irish natives especially, were increased by the conduct of those who had been commissioned to remove the objects and instruments of popular superstition. Under pretence of obeying the orders of state, these men seized

all the moſt valuable furniture of the churches, which they expoſed to ſale without decency or reſerve [d].

Sir Anthony Saintleger, to whoſe remiſſneſs, it was alleged, the oppoſition of the northern clergy had been owing, was ſuddenly recalled, and ſir James Crofts appointed to ſucceed him. The firſt care of the new deputy was, to labour, by perſuaſion and addreſs, to ſoften the oppoſition of Dowdal, who was univerſally regarded as the principal adherent of the Romiſh church. This prelate had, with an affected dignity of reſentment, retired to the abbey of St. Mary, in the ſuburbs of Dublin, taking no part in the public councils, and declining all intercourſe with his conforming brethren. Here he received a letter from the deputy, reminding him of the obedience to his ſovereign, which Chriſt himſelf had recommended by his example; expreſſing alſo a deſire to be the inſtrument of reconciling him with his brethren; and requeſting, that, for this purpoſe, he ſhould appoint a place of conference. Dowdal, who was flattered by this application into a ſtill higher opinion of his own importance, replied, with a cold civility, that he had too good reaſon to fear it would be vain for him to enter into any conference with a number of churchmen, or to hope that the differences which had occaſioned his ſeparation could be eaſily adjuſted; however, that he accepted the friendly offices of the deputy, and ſhould be glad to ſee him; but as he had lived for ſome time in a courſe of retirement, did not think it proper to appear at the governor's palace. After farther meſſages on this ſubject, it was agreed, that the primate ſhould be attended by his brethren at a propoſed conference. This was opened in the form of a theological diſpute, held in the great hall of the abbey, in which Dowdal defended the Romiſh maſs, and Staples, biſhop of Meath, was advocate for the reformed mode of worſhip; an oſtentatious method of deciſion, which had its natural and uſual effect. Each party claimed the victory; and both retired with their mutual animoſities more confirmed than ever.

The queſtion of precedence between the ſees of Armagh and Dublin had been agitated for many ages with great violence [x]. The deciſions of popes and councils had been pleaded by both parties, and the royal authority of England had frequently interpoſed to allay their acrimony.

[d] Ann. Donag. MSS. [x] Uſher MS. in Bib. Trin. Col. Dub.

Whether

Whether appeals in eccleſiaſtical cauſes ſhould be brought from one dioceſe to the other, or where the final ſentence ſhould be pronounced, ſeemed of leſs moment than whether the primate of Armagh ſhould have his croſier carried erect within the juriſdiction of his rival. An oppoſition to this mark of ſuperiority had been deemed a ſufficient reaſon for declining his attendance in parliament, and produced the moſt pathetic remonſtrances againſt the violation of his dignity. The deciſion at length was, that each prelate ſhould be entitled to primatial dignity; and erect his croſier in the dioceſe of the other; but that, according to the diſtinction eſtabliſhed in England between the prelates of Canterbury and York, the archbiſhop of Dublin ſhould be contented with the title of primate of Ireland, while the archbiſhop of Armagh ſhould be ſtyled, primate of all Ireland. But Dowdal had now ſo much offended the government, and the ſervices of Browne had been ſo diſtinguiſhed, that the old arrangement of this important affair was entirely reverſed. By the king's patent, Armagh was deprived of the ſuperior title, which, with all its powers and privileges, was conferred on Browne and his ſucceſſors for ever, in the ſee of Dublin. Dowdal is ſaid to have been ſo ſtung with this mortification, that it determined him to abandon his dioceſe. It is equally probable that it ſerved to awaken him to a ſenſe of his danger; that his fears interpreted it as a prelude to farther ſeverities, and that he conſulted his ſafety by retiring to the continent. The king was taught to regard this ſtep as a renunciation of his paſtoral charge, and appointed a ſucceſſor to the ſee of Armagh. At the ſame time John Bale, the violent impugner of popery, was nominated to the ſee of Oſſory. His rigid and uncomplying ſpirit appeared immediately on his conſecration. Lockwood, dean of Chriſt-church, propoſed that the Romiſh ritual ſhould be obſerved on this occaſion. All the clergy, and even Goodacre, the new prelate of Armagh, were diſpoſed to acquieſce; but Bale obſtinately refuſed to be conſecrated according to any other but the reformed ritual, and by his firmneſs he at laſt prevailed. The learning of this prelate promiſed conſiderable ſervice to the cauſe of reformation, and even the vehemence of his temper ſeemed well ſuited to the place and circumſtances of his miſſion; but he inſulted his flock without reſerve or caution. They were not ſo much awed by the civil power as to diſſemble their reſentment; ſo that during the ſhort period of his reſidence in Ireland, he lived in a continual

ſtate of alarm and perſecution. On his firſt preaching of the reformed doctrines, his clergy forſook, or oppoſed him; and ſuch was the violence of the populace againſt him, that five of his domeſtics were killed before his face; and his own life ſaved only by the vigorous interpoſition of the civil magiſtrate.

The apprehenſions of diſorder from religious controverſy, and the general attachment of the people to their ancient mode of faith and worſhip, neceſſarily induced a cautious and vigilant adminiſtration of civil affairs, ſo as to enforce the regulations lately made. And ſuch was the comparative tranquillity of the whole kingdom, that there appeared a fair proſpect of its eſtabliſhment, if the court of England could be rendered attentive to this important object, and the king's government in Ireland ſo ſtrengthened as to aboliſh the ancient Brehon juriſdiction, and extend the benefits of Engliſh law through every quarter of the iſland. Urgent repreſentations were made to the Engliſh miniſter of the neceſſity of this meaſure, but without effect: for the intrigues of the duke of Northumberland, and the diſturbance which his ambition had occaſioned, left no leiſure to purſue a deſign which required attention and circumſpection, as well as a ſtrong military power. The inveterate adherence of the Iriſh to their ancient manners and inſtitutions, was the great obſtacle to the vicegerent, in his attempts to preſerve the inhabitants within the bounds of obedience. But the principal diſtreſs of the Engliſh government, in this reign, aroſe from the factious diſorders of the great northern family of O'Nial, who kindled in Tirowen a flame of war, which, though it ſubſided at intervals, was not extinguiſhed for many years.

A.D. 1553. *Mary.* Meanwhile, the death of Edward confounded all the weak efforts which had hitherto been made to introduce the reformation into Ireland. The council in England had been induced to comply with the weak and precipitate meaſures of the duke of Northumberland, and tranſmitted an order for proclaiming the lady Jane in Ireland. But this was quickly followed by a letter expreſſing their concern at the conduct which they had been obliged to purſue; declaring at the ſame time, that their ſovereign Lady queen Mary had been proclaimed in London, and directing that like proclamation ſhould be made to all her loving ſubjects of Ireland. The officers of ſtate were confirmed in their ſeveral departments: Dowdal was reſtored to the dignity and office of primate of all Ireland, and

and invested with the priory of Athirdee, in consideration of the spoil made in his archbishoprick during his absence. A general pardon was granted to all the queen's subjects of Ireland: no violent changes were as yet attempted in the religious establishment: a licence only was published, as in England, for the celebration of mass, without penalty or compulsion; and among the royal titles, that of supreme head, on earth, of the church of Ireland continued to be inserted in the acts of state.

Among the acts of grace extended by Mary, in the first year of her reign, was the restoration of the family of Kildare to its honours and estates. O'Connor, chieftain of O'Fally, who had so long been imprisoned, was enabled, through the interest of his daughter, to procure his liberty; and his return to Ireland naturally alarmed the jealousy of those who had received grants of his demesnes. They impressed the deputy with dreadful apprehensions of his turbulence and disaffection; and obliged him to renew his submission, and to give up his son a hostage for his peaceable behaviour [k].

Sir Anthony Saintleger, who had been entrusted with the government of Ireland, when the new regulations of divine worship were to be established, in the preceding reign, was again made the deputy under whose auspices they were to be abolished. The return of Dowdal was a signal to the reformed clergy of the approaching storm. Bale of Ossory, the violent enemy to popery, and Casey of Limerick, fled in dismay; but others, who might likewise be obnoxious, were less alarmed. The general pardon, granted by the queen at her coronation, in effect secured them from very severe animadversions on their former conduct; but many of them, on renouncing the authority of Rome, had taken wives, and were thereby become obnoxious to the popish canons. Dowdal received a commission to enquire into the offence, and in conjunction with one Walsh already nominated to the see of Meath, to deprive the married clergy of their benefices. Staples was first removed, to make way for his successor. Browne of Dublin, whose former zeal and authority now rendered him an object of vengeance, Lancaster of Kildare, and Traverse of Leighlin, were successively ejected; and their fees given to ecclesiastics devoted to the Romish communion. Several of the inferior clergy were treated with

[k] Usher.

like ſeverity; and Dowdal outran the zeal of government in re-eſtabliſhing the whole popiſh ſyſtem.

Religious ordinances being now ſettled, Saintleger, and his ſucceſſor Fitz-Walter, earl of Suſſex, were left at leiſure to repreſs the diſorders perpetually ariſing in different quarters of the iſland. The old Iriſh inhabitants of Leix and O'Fally could not patiently reſign their claims and poſſeſſions to the new ſettlers. Having taken up arms, numbers of them were cut off in the field, or executed by martial law; and the whole race would have been extirpated, had not the earls of Kildare and Ormond interceded with the queen, and become ſureties for the peaceable behaviour of ſome ſurvivors.

A.D. 1556. The flames of perſecution were now kindled in England, and it was determined by the court to tear up in Ireland every root of hereſy. Suſſex was directed to convene a parliament, for the purpoſe of re-eſtabliſhing the ancient faith. On the meeting of this aſſembly, the deputy preſented it with a bull from cardinal Pole, which was read aloud by the chancellor, kneeling, and received by the lords and commons in the ſame humble poſture. This bull repreſented the ſeparation of Ireland from the ſee of Rome, as the effect of fear rather than free will: it pronounced a plenary abſolution to all the inhabitants for this heinous offence; ratifying, at the ſame time, all diſpoſitions of benefices, confirming marriages, diſpenſations, and other eccleſiaſtical proceedings, during the late ſchiſm; ſecuring the poſſeſſion of church-lands to thoſe who had been inveſted with them, but not without a gentle admonition to beware of ſacrilege, and to reſtore at leaſt what might be neceſſary for the maintenance of parſonages and vicarages; and enjoining the parliament to abrogate all laws enacted againſt the ſupremacy of Rome.

The parliament began with declaring that the queen's majeſty had been born in lawful wedlock, and repealing all ſentences of divorce, and all acts paſſed in the reign of Henry, by which the ſucceſſion to the crown was eſtabliſhed to the prejudice of Mary. They repealed all acts made againſt the holy ſee, ſince the twentieth year of Henry VIII. re-eſtabliſhed the juriſdiction of the pope, and reſtored to the church the rectories, glebes, and other emoluments veſted in the crown ſince the twenty-eighth year of Henry VIII. reſerving only the lands granted to the laity, which no zeal for religion could induce them

to

to reſign, and which it was deemed highly dangerous to wreſt from them, in either of the kingdoms. But the law of this parliament, which has ſince been deemed of the greateſt importance, was that for explanation of the memorable act of Poynings. It was enacted, that no parliament ſhould be ſummoned or held in Ireland, until the chief governors and council ſhould certify the cauſes and conſiderations, and ſuch acts and ordinances as they judged proper to be enacted; that when theſe were approved, and returned under the great-ſeal of England, a parliament ſhould be ſummoned for the purpoſe of paſſing ſuch acts, and no other. But, as events might happen during the time of parliament, neceſſary to be provided for, the chief governors and council were empowered and directed to certify ſuch other cauſes and proviſions, after the ſummons and meeting of parliament, as they ſhall think good to be enacted; which, and no others, ſhall be paſſed, in every ſuch parliament, if agreed to by the three eſtates. At the ſame time, it was provided, that all the parliaments, and all the acts paſſed ſince the tenth year of Henry VII. ſhould remain in the ſame force as if this act had not been made; and that nothing which it contained ſhould extend to the defeating of any proviſos made in the preſent ſeſſion. Such was the act which finally determined the uſage of holding parliaments and enacting laws in Ireland, and which have ſince continued to be the rule for the proceedings of the legiſlature in that kingdom.

The earl of Suſſex, for ſome time, with a ſmall force, retained Ireland in a greater degree of tranquillity than it had uſually enjoyed; but none of its provinces were, at the acceſſion of Elizabeth, free from diſorders; and the change, which was likely again to take place in the religious eſtabliſhment of the kingdom, afforded reaſon to expect freſh commotions. The queen having determined to propagate the reformed doctrines, commiſſioned Suſſex to aſſemble a parliament, for enacting ſtatutes ſimilar to thoſe already made in England. In a ſeſſion of a few weeks, the whole ſyſtem of Mary was reverſed [b]. The eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction was reſtored to the crown, and a new oath of ſupremacy appointed; laws againſt hereſy repealed; the uſe of the Common Prayer enforced, with ſuch alterations as had been already made in England; and all ſubjects obliged to attend the public ſervice of the

A.D. 1558. *Elizabeth.*

[b] Ware.

church. The firſt fruits and twentieth parts of all church revenues were reſtored to the crown; and the form of electing prelates by deans and chapters, by virtue of a congé d'elire, was aboliſhed, as attended with unneceſſary delays and coſts, and derogatory to the royal prerogative. It was provided, that the queen and her heirs, by letters-patent, or the chief governor duly authoriſed, ſhall collate to all vacant ſees; that perſons ſo collated, ſhall be conſecrated and inveſted with their rights, and that the prelates directed to conſecrate them, ſhall pay due obedience to the royal mandate, within twenty days, under the penalties of the ſtatute of premunire.

Suſſex was ſo much alarmed by the oppoſition he had experienced in this parliament, that he diſſolved it in a few weeks; and repairing to the queen, entruſted the government, by her direction, to ſir William Fitz-William. The partizans of Rome inveighed againſt the heretical queen and her impious miniſters. The clergy, who refuſed to conform, abandoned their cures; no reformed miniſters could be found to ſupply their places; the churches fell to ruin; and the people were left without any eccleſiaſtical inſtitution. Even in the places moſt civilized, the ſtatutes lately made were evaded or neglected with impunity; the people were exhorted to ſtand prepared for aſſerting their ancient religion; and were aſſured of effectual ſupport, both from the pope and the king of Spain, the latter of whom was now particularly offended at Elizabeth.

Meanwhile, the turbulent O'Nial again raiſed an inſurrection in the North; nor was he reduced to obedience without conceſſions on the ſide of the deputy. Suſſex reſigning his high ſtation, and Arnold, an Engliſh knight, his immediate ſucceſſor, being found incapable of the office, the reins of government was entruſted to ſir Henry Sydney, from whoſe adminiſtration the moſt ſanguine hopes were conceived. To aſſiſt him in the conduct of the ſtate, ſir William Saintleger was ſtationed in Munſter, with the title of lord preſident of this province, to decide controverſies, enforce the execution of the law, and maintain the public peace. The civil and eccleſiaſtical ſtate of the kingdom was in the moſt alarming diſorder; but ſtill the moſt preſſing danger was from the reſtleſs O'Nial. The excurſions of this chieftain were ſudden and violent: he razed ſeveral caſtles on the borders of the Pale; burned the church of Armagh, where the reformed worſhip was maintained by Henry Loftus, lately

lately made archbiſhop of this ſee. He ravaged the whole diſtrict of Fermanagh, expelled the chieftain, who had refuſed to acknowlege his ſuperiority; diſpatched his emiſſaries into Munſter to prevail upon the earl of Deſmond to unite with him; attempted to engage the Iriſh lords of Connaught in his cauſe; and, in the ſtyle of ſovereignty, ſent his ambaſſadors to Rome and Spain, to procure aſſiſtance againſt the common enemy. The fame of this dangerous inſurgent ſpread through all the iſland; and his progreſs became every where an intereſting object of attention[g].

Sydney knew the moſt effectual method of reducing this turbulent chieftain, and purſued it with vigour and addreſs. He engaged firmly to the intereſts of the crown, the northern Iriſh, who had been injured by O'Nial; and thus raiſed up againſt him a number of neighbouring enemies. The chieftain was at once attacked from different quarters: in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, his forces were defeated with conſiderable ſlaughter: every diſgrace or diſappointment enraged his pride; and in the fury of vexation he treated his followers with a barbarous ſeverity. They deſerted in great numbers; and at length O'Nial, abandoned to deſpair, reſolved to throw himſelf at the feet of ſir Henry Sydney, and implore his mercy. Juſt as he prepared to execute this purpoſe, one of his favourite attendants ventured to expreſs his fears of the event. He repreſented to O'Nial, that if he muſt caſt himſelf upon the mercy of an enemy, the Scottiſh inhabitants of Ulſter were more likely to receive him with favour. A conſiderable party of the Scots were now encamped in Clanhuboy; who, however they might repreſent his former conduct, were ſtill enemies to the Engliſh, and thus the war might be at leaſt protracted, until he could obtain better terms, than in his preſent deſperate ſituation he had reaſon to expect. O'Nial, pleaſed with this council, determined to adopt it, and immediately proceeded to make overtures of a confederacy. By the perſuaſion of an Engliſh officer, named Piers, who practiſed upon the Scots, O'Nial's propoſal was received with ſeeming ſatisfaction; and he was invited by the commander to an entertainment, where a quarrel being purpoſely raiſed, he, with others of the gueſts, was aſſaſſinated. The intelligence of his death was conveyed to the deputy by

[g] Davis.

Piers,

Piers, who ſent his head to Dublin, and received a thouſand marks as his reward [p].

By orders of the queen, the deputy ſoon after convened a parliament, among the bills tranſmitted to which were two particularly offenſive to the members of the Pale: one for granting the queen a new impoſt upon wines; the other, a bill for the ſuſpenſion of Poynings' law, and authoriſing all the acts to be made in the preſent parliament, without being previouſly certified and tranſmitted. The former was exclaimed againſt as an oppreſſive innovation; but the latter was oppoſed with ſtill greater clamour, as an attempt againſt the foundation of public ſecurity; to deliver up the realm at once to the mercy of a viceroy, who, with the aſſiſtance of his Engliſh burgeſſes, might enact, without controul, ſuch laws as he judged neceſſary for his own clandeſtine purpoſes. The debates on this ſubject became ſo outrageous, that the aſſembly was adjourned in confuſion. But in a few days, the violence of contending parties was ſo far allayed, that they conſented to proceed on the public buſineſs. After a ſhort prorogation, the bill for ſuſpenſion of Poynings' law was enacted: but, to allay the jealouſies and ſuſpicions raiſed by the leaders of the oppoſition, it was afterwards provided by a particular ſtatute, that no bill ſhould ever be certified into England for the repeal or ſuſpenſion of this law, until it had been firſt agreed on, by a majority of lords and commons in the Iriſh parliament.

By the attainder of John O'Nial and his aſſociates, which alſo paſſed this parliament, more than the half of Ulſter was veſted in the queen, to be diſpoſed of, as might be deemed moſt expedient for the intereſt and ſecurity of the government [q]. The power and extortions of the great Iriſh chieftains were declared illegal, and the inferiors directed to acknowlege no authority but that of the Engliſh crown. But the law for aboliſhing the juriſdictions of the chieftains, in a great meaſure, defeatedits own purpoſe, by excepting ſuch as ſhould be granted by letters-patent, which were found by experience to be too eaſily obtained: and though the lands of Ulſter were declared to be forfeited to the crown, yet no immediate ſeizure was made, the Iriſh being ſtill permitted to enjoy them without duty or acknowlegement; ſo that even the abbey-lands and houſes were poſſeſſed by the clergy, and

[p] Uſher, Ware. [q] Davis.

three

three northern biſhoprics, thoſe of Clogher, Derry and Raphoe, were ſtill granted by the pope without controul.

The defects obſerved in the execution of thoſe laws, however, are principally to be imputed, not to any want of vigour and penetration in the governor, but to thoſe perpetual commotions, which ſhewed that Ireland had not been yet reduced to ſuch a ſtate as might admit a regular eſtabliſhment of polity. Even during the meeting of the parliament, Sydney was alarmed by dangerous commotions in the South. Sir Edmund Butler, by his conduct in the houſe of commons, had become peculiarly obnoxious to the deputy, who inveighed againſt him with more warmth than prudence, affected to aſcribe his conduct to diſloyalty, and even expreſſed ſome menaces againſt him. Butler, in the pride of power and family, was little careful to conceal his indignation; and on returning to his own country, he was ſo much impelled by reſentment, as to take up arms againſt the deputy's authority. The alarm of this inſurrection, however, was greater than the real danger. The earl of Ormond, who reſided at the court of England, laboured to quiet the apprehenſions of the queen; and even offered his own ſervices to reſtore the tranquillity of Munſter. He was accordingly ſent into Ireland for this purpoſe, and found the lord-deputy already employed againſt the inſurgents of the South. He eaſily prevailed upon ſir Edmund Butler, before he had as yet proceeded to any enormous act of rebellion, to appear before the deputy at Limerick; and though he contrived to eſcape from the durance to which he was committed, yet he and two more of the earl's brothers were again prevailed on to reſign themſelves to juſtice. A progreſs made by Sydney through the ſouthern and weſtern provinces, ſerved to encourage the well-affected, and to intimidate the enemies of government. Many of the moſt conſiderable rank in Munſter renewed their engagements of loyalty, and aſſociated againſt the rebels. In Leinſter, the enemies of government were quelled and over-awed by the queen's forces; ſo that the inſurgents of the South were left without any ſupport to maintain their own precipitate rebellion. To complete their confuſion, ſir John Perrot was appointed preſident of Munſter, an auſtere and vigorous officer, ſuppoſed to be the natural ſon of Henry VIII. He purſued the rebels with great fury; ſtorming their forts, and chaſing them from their haunts without reſpite; until Fitz-Maurice, with ſome of his adherents, worn out with

with toil and famine, were compelled to caſt themſelves at his feet. The inferior agents in this inſurrection were inſtantly condemned to all the rigours of martial law; while their leader was reſerved for the queen's diſpoſal.

From ſuppreſſing the late rebellion, Perrot proceeded vigorouſly to the complete pacification of Munſter. He held his courts in different quarters; heard and redreſſed grievances; and enforced a ſtrict execution of Engliſh law, ſo as to give an unuſual appearance of peace, induſtry, and civilization, to the whole province[1]. Such was the queen's confidence in the abilities of this officer, that on his firſt appointment to the command in Ireland, ſir Henry Sydney was permitted to return to England, and the government entruſted to his brother, ſir William Fitz-William.

At the time when it became a prevailing faſhion to look abroad for ſettlements, Walter Devereux, lately created earl of Eſſex, formed a ſcheme of a colony in Ireland, and offered his ſervices to the queen for reducing the diſaffected inhabitants of Clan-huboy, a diſtrict of Ulſter, and planting it with Engliſh ſettlers. It was readily agreed that he ſhould be inveſted with a moiety of the country to be thus occupied; that one thouſand two hundred forces ſhould be maintained, and fortifications raiſed, at the joint expence of the queen and earl; that the earl ſhould be commander in chief for ſeven years, and in concurrence with the crown, continue the plantation until a thouſand Engliſh inhabitants ſhould be ſettled on each moiety. Eſſex prepared for this expedition with ſuch ſanguine hopes, that he mortgaged his eſtate to the queen for ten thouſand pounds.

A.D. 1573. Fitz-William, who naturally foreſaw that the preſence of a nobleman inveſted with an independent authority, and attended with a conſiderable force, muſt neceſſarily leſſen his conſequence, remonſtrated warmly againſt this commiſſion granted to the earl, and the unſeaſonable attempt to form a new ſettlement in Ulſter, which he repreſented to be in a ſtate of violent commotion. But the queen, to quiet the jealouſy of Fitz-William, propoſed that Eſſex ſhould receive his commiſſion from the lord-deputy of Ireland, ſo as to act apparently under his authority. This commiſſion, however, was affectedly delayed; ſo that when the earl landed with his troops, the northern natives, notwithſtanding their promiſes of aſ-

[1] Hooker.

ſiſtance,

ſiſtance, quickly learned to deſpiſe his numbers; and received ſecret intimations that they might oppoſe him with impunity. Accordingly two Iriſh chieftains in that diſtrict united againſt him, and harraſſed his forces by perpetual ſkirmiſhes. It now appeared that his embarkation had been too long delayed, the ſoldiers furniſhed by the queen ill-choſen and ineffective, tardily ſupplied with proviſions, and even theſe unſound. Eſſex pathetically repreſented to the queen the diſtreſſes of his ſituation; and was on the point of being recalled, when his enemies at court found new pretences for detaining him in Ireland; to aſſiſt, as they alleged, her lord-deputy againſt the enemies of government.

Eſſex, therefore, after a ſhort excurſion againſt the earl of Deſmond returned to the proſecution of his ſchemes in Ulſter, where the turbulence and perfidiouſneſs of the Iriſh, with the ſecret practices of Leiceſter and his partizans, involved him in a ſeries of perplexities. When he had been wearied into a reſignation of his authority, he was commanded to reſume it: when he had reſumed, and for a while proceeded with ſucceſs, he was ordered to reſign it. When he had at length obtained permiſſion to return to England, he was remanded into Ireland, with the inſignificant title of earl marſhal of this country. Here vexation and diſappointment ſoon put a period to his life, not without the ſuſpicion of his having been poiſoned by Leiceſter, whoſe conduct in haſtily marrying the counteſs of Eſſex, ſeemed to confirm the ſurmiſe.

Meanwhile, the repeated inſtances of ſir William Fitz-William, to be relieved from the burden of his Iriſh government, ſo wrought upon the queen, that ſhe determined once more to entruſt the management of this diſordered country to the abilities and experience of ſir Henry Sydney. This gentleman would gladly have declined the charge: but to conquer his reluctance, he was inveſted with the moſt honourable and extenſive powers, and aſſured of an annual remittance of twenty thouſand pounds, in addition to the ordinary revenues of Ireland. On his landing, to reſume the adminiſtration, a plague, which raged through the Engliſh Pale, prevented him from repairing to the ſeat of government; and advices received of various diſorders in the North, determined him to march into the province of Ulſter. His preſence was ſufficient to ſup- A.D. 1576.

[t] Camden.

preſs

preſs all commotion; and in a circuit which he continued through the ſeveral provinces, with a force conſiſting only of ſix hundred men, without drawing a ſword, he ſuppreſſed every diſorder, adminiſtered juſtice, and executed the laws, even with ſeverity [z].

Among the regulations now deviſed by Sydney, he provided for the good government of the South, by prevailing on the queen to appoint ſir William Drury lord-preſident of Munſter, in the room of Perrot, who had returned to England. This officer acquitted himſelf with great reputation; he adminiſtered juſtice impartially, and enforced a dutiful ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh law. The county palatine of Kerry was now the only part of Munſter in which malefactors found any refuge; and thither they reſorted, under the protection of the earl of Deſmond, who had obtained the royalties of this county from Edward III. But Drury, without regard to ancient patents, reſolved to extend his juriſdiction into Kerry; Deſmond pleaded the privilege of his family; but finding the lord preſident obſtinate in his purpoſe, relinquiſhed, for the preſent, his claim; aſſuring Drury, in the mean time, that he ſhould be received in Kerry with all due ſubmiſſion, and inviting him to reſide at his houſe in Tralee. Drury accepted the invitation; and on his arrival, with a train of a hundred and twenty men in arms, a body of ſeven hundred of Deſmond's followers appeared at ſome diſtance, and advanced upon him. Drury unacquainted with the cuſtom of this diſtrict, at once concluded that he had been betrayed, and was to be ſurrounded and cut to pieces. Without waiting, therefore, to be attacked, he encouraged his followers to charge the ſuppoſed enemy. Aſtoniſhed at this reception, the Deſmonians, without attempting the leaſt hoſtility, immediately fled; and the counteſs of Deſmond was left to explain this extraordinary incident. She aſſured the preſident that theſe men had aſſembled peaceably to do him honour; that they neither intended nor expected hoſtilities; that their flight was not the effect of cowardice, but amazement and confuſion; and that they had been collected by the earl merely to entertain the preſident with hunting, in which the men of Kerry were remarkably expert. Drury affected to be ſatisfied with this explanation, made an apology for his ignorance, and proceeded to execute the laws in that diſtrict, without controul or oppoſition.

[z] Hooker.

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The enormous disproportion between the revenue of Ireland, and the charge of maintaining the English power in this country, was the constant subject of complaint in England; and Sydney, from his solicitude for the interest and service of the crown, was desirous of alleviating this burden. It had long been the practice to impose upon the English districts a certain rate of provisions for the royal garrisons, and for the maintenance of the governor's household. Sydney conceived the design of converting this occasional subsidy into a regular and permanent revenue, by substituting a composition in place of the assessment, and exacting it from all the subjects. Having communicated his design to the court of England, he was encouraged to pursue it. He began by proclamation to dissolve those liberties which had ever claimed an exemption from the ancient charge of purveyance; and then proceeded to a general imposition of the new tax, by the authority of the council, and by virtue of the queen's prerogative.

A general and violent clamour was the immediate consequence of this bold act of government, which was considered as unconstitutional and oppressive. A spirited remonstrance on this subject was presented to the lord-deputy and council, who endeavoured to justify their procedure by several arguments, and among these, by the queen's prerogative, which was not to be impeached. But so confident were the remonstrants of the validity of their plea, that they besought the deputy's permission to repair to the court of England, in order to lay their cause before the queen; and in this measure, they were left by the deputy to be guided by their own inclination.

In so popular a cause, opposition grew every day more powerful. The principal lords, through all parts of the realm, refused obedience to the edict of council, and enjoined all their dependents not to pay the assessment. In an assembly of the inhabitants of the Pale, it was resolved to send three agents into England, with letters to the queen and the English council. In these, they complained of the oppression of the tax, its illegality, and the various abuses committed in the execution of it. Sydney having previously taken care to prepossess the queen and her council with the most unfavourable opinion both of the cause of the agents and their characters, the matter was heard with a prejudice unexpected by the remonstrants. Four Irish lords, at this time attendant on the

court, Kildare, Ormond, Gormanſtown, and Dunſany, were ſummoned to attend, and their opinion demanded on the allegations of their countrymen. They acknowleged that an aſſeſſment had been always practiſed for maintenance of the queen's garriſons, and the houſhold of her deputy; and, cautiouſly avoiding the point of prerogative, confined themſelves to the neceſſities and condition of the Iriſh, whom they repreſented as really incapable of well ſupporting the preſent impoſition, and prayed that it might be moderated. The council was now diſpoſed to ſatisfy the Iriſh ſubjects, and the queen herſelf liſtened to their complaints with affected tenderneſs and compaſſion. She is ſaid to have exclaimed, "Ah! how I fear leſt it be objected to us, as it was to Tiberius by Bato, concerning the Dalmatian commotions: you, you it is that are in fault, who have committed your flocks not to ſhepherds, but to wolves."

This imperious princeſs, however, gave ready ear to thoſe counſellors who recommended the maintenance of her prerogative. The Iriſh agents, who had fondly relied on the ſupport of law and juſtice, were inſtantly committed to the Fleet, as contumacious oppoſers of the royal authority [h]. The queen, not content with ſhowing this mark of her diſpleaſure, ſent letters to ſir Henry Sydney and the Iriſh council, reprimanding them for not having immediately committed and puniſhed thoſe who had preſumed to deny the legality of the preſent compoſition; commanding that all who had ſubſcribed the application to the throne ſhould be ſummoned before them, and if they perſevered in diſputing her prerogative, that they ſhould be committed to priſon until they acknowleged their offence. She, at the ſame time, commanded, that thoſe of her ſervants and counſellors, learned in the law, who had been preſent at the original complaint, and neglected to maintain her royal prerogative, ſhould be removed from their offices.

But all this reſolution and ſeverity had no effect on the lords and gentlemen of the Pale. They appeared before the council, where peremptorily adhering to their former declarations, and denying the legality of any tax not regularly impoſed by parliament, were committed to impriſonment in the caſtle of Dublin. Their agents in England, on a ſecond examination, appeared equally determined; and were therefore removed from the Fleet to

[h] Hooker.

the Tower, as perſons deemed guilty of treaſon. The whole body of Iriſh ſubjects were alarmed and confounded at this rigour, which imputing to the practices of Sydney, they loaded him with the moſt virulent invectives; and their clamours were ſo violent, as to ſtartle the queen and her counſellors; who, dreading the conſequence of general diſcontent in a country which harboured ſo many ſecret enemies to government, were glad to accept an equivocal ſubmiſſion from the Iriſh agents: the latter acknowleged that their manner of application had been undutiful, but diſavowed all intention of impeaching the queen's juſt prerogative. They gave ſecurity to preſent themſelves before the lord-deputy, and were remitted to Ireland, where they repeated their ſubmiſſion, and were diſmiſſed. Some of the confined lords and gentlemen regained their liberty by a like ſubmiſſion: nor did the more ſpirited and obſtinate meet with any farther ſeverity. Sydney was inſtructed to bring this violent and dangerous diſpute to ſome ſpeedy accommodation. A compoſition for purveyance was by the deputy and council, with the concurrence of the lords and gentlemen of the Pale, ſettled for ſeven years; and the malecontents were diſcharged. All the rage of indignation and reſentment fell on the lord-deputy; who was accuſed of wantonly alienating the affections of the Iriſh ſubjects; of ruling without policy or diſcretion; of laviſhing the revenue; of diſcouraging the well-affected; and of careleſly or corruptly pardoning the moſt notorious offenders. Sydney, conſcious of his great unpopularity, made preſſing inſtances to the queen that ſhe would be pleaſed to recall him.

A petty invaſion of the Spaniards, who had hoped to excite a formidable inſurrection in Ireland, was the next occurrence in that country; but neither the force of the invaders, nor the number of thoſe who joined them, was ſuch as to produce events which merit any particular detail. In a ſecond attempt made by Philip, ſeven hundred Spaniards and Italians contrived to make good their landing at Smerwick. They brought arms and ammunition for five thouſand men, and a large ſum of money, which they were directed to deliver to the earl of Deſmond, his brother John, and one doctor Saunders. They proceeded to finiſh a fort, which their countrymen had formerly begun, and which they called the Golden Fort; diſpatching, at the ſame time, their emiſſaries to Spain, to notify their arrival, and to haſten the embarkation of thoſe ſuc-

A.D. 1578.

A.D. 1580.

cours which they had been promiſed. The earl of Ormond now commanded in Munſter, and, on the firſt alarm of this deſcent, marched boldly againſt the invaders; who, terrified at his approach, at once abandoned their poſt, and, under the guidance of their Iriſh friends, ſought ſhelter in ſome neighbouring woods. This motion produced a ſkirmiſh, in which ſome of the foreigners were made priſoners, and diſcovered their numbers and their intentions. But the fugitives learning that the forces of Ormond were not ſo great as they at firſt imagined, their commander, with about three hundred of his men, returned to their original ſtation. Ormond was not provided with neceſſaries for a ſiege; but he ſtill hovered round them, until a ſucceſsful ſally forced him to retreat to Rathkeal, and there to expect the arrival of the new deputy. Lord Grey ſoon appeared at the head of eight hundred men, whom he had led from Dublin; and a fleet, under ſir William Winter, ſupported his operations. The fort was thus inveſted by land and ſea; but, before any aſſault was begun, the garriſon was ſummoned to ſurrender; and to declare for what purpoſe they were ſent; and why they had preſumed to fortify themſelves in the queen's dominions. Their anſwer was bold and peremptory; that they were ſent by the pope and the king of Spain, to extirpate hereſy, and to reduce the land to the obedience of king Philip, who was by the holy father veſted with the ſovereignty of Ireland [c].

This anſwer was ſeconded by a vigorous ſally, in which the foreigners, however, were repulſed. The next night Winter landed the artillery from the ſhips; and, with the utmoſt vigour and diſpatch, cutting through a bank, which lay between the ſhore and the fort, drew up the cannon, and completed his battery before the dawn of day; while lord Grey made the like proviſions by land. The fort was again ſummoned, with ſome offers of mercy, if the garriſon would ſurrender. But theſe foreigners, who had not yet diſcovered their danger, and the ſituation of the beſiegers, ſtill boldly anſwered, that they would maintain the poſt they had gained, and endeavour to extend their acquiſitions. The batteries now began to play furiouſly againſt the fort; no ſuccours arrived from Spain, as had been daily expected; and none of the diſaffected Iriſh appeared in the field. The commander of the fort, an Italian, called San Joſepo, was

[c] Ware.

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terrified; and, in a few days, contrary to the opinion of his officers, determined to capitulate. But Grey now replied, with haughtiness and austerity, that he disdained to grant any terms to them or their abettors. Several attempts were made to gain any conditions, not totally desperate: Grey continued inexorable, and the garrison, reduced to extremity, fatally surrendered at discretion. That mercy, which they implored, was rigidly denied them. As soon as they were disarmed, an English company was sent into the fort: the Irish rebels found there were reserved for execution by martial law: the Italian general and some officers were made prisoners of war; but the garrison was put to the sword. Nor is it without pain that we find this odious service committed to sir Walter Raleigh. The excuses alleged for this severity were, that the number was too formidable to be made prisoners; that the Irish were approaching in a body of one thousand five hundred men; that no shipping was prepared to carry away the foreigners; and that the soldiers threatened to mutiny if not allowed to supply their necessities by the spoil of the fort. Grey was said to have shed tears at the determination of this court-martial; and Elizabeth expressed the utmost concern and displeasure at this barbarous execution [f].

On the first fame of this invasion, the disaffected in several parts of the kingdom rose into arms; but the appearance of the lord-deputy was now sufficient to quell all commotion. On his return to the capital, however, he was alarmed with reports of a secret conspiracy formed in the very seat of government. Among those suspected of this plot were the earl of Kildare, and his son-in-law, lord Delvin; who were committed to the custody of Wingfield, master of the ordnance. Lord Henry, the earl's son, alarmed at this event, and taught that Grey intended nothing less than the extirpation of every great family of the old English race, fled for shelter to his Irish fosterers in O'Fally; who declared that they would protect him from the malice of his enemies, and were on the point of rising in arms. After many repeated efforts to prevail upon them to give him up, they at length consented to resign him to the earl of Ormond. With his father and the baron of Delvin he was sent into England, where, on a fair and candid examination, all were acquitted of every charge or suspicion of disloyalty. The

[f] Davis.

precipitation with which ſome other perſons, ſuſpected of the conſpiracy, had been executed, now became doubly odious. Grey was repreſented as a man of ſanguinary principles, who had not only diſhonoured his nation and ſovereign among foreigners, but alienated the hearts of all the Iriſh ſubjects, by repeated barbarities. He therefore grew weary of his charge, and deſired to be recalled. His requeſt was granted, and Loſtus, archbiſhop of Dub-
A.D.1582. lin, and ſir Henry Wallop, treaſurer at war, were appointed lords juſtices.

The earl of Ormond, who was ſent into Munſter with a new body of forces, pierced into the woods, where the rebels ſtill continued to aſſemble, drove them from their haunts, and purſued them with indefatigable vigour. The unhappy earl of Deſmond (who had co-operated with the Spaniards, and was not included in the late pardon, though he ſtill intreated to be received to mercy) was hunted from one wretched retreat to another, frequently in danger of being taken, diſguiſed among the meaneſt of his followers, lurking with them in woods and bogs, and depending on their benevolence for the ſupport of nature. In the extremity of diſtreſs, two horſemen and a few kerns ventured to ſeize ſome cattle for his ſubſiſtance. The owner exclaimed at this violence, and a few ſoldiers of an Engliſh garriſon purſued the prey. They came up to the opening of a valley, in which was a ſmall grove, where they determined to repoſe: but ſpying a light at ſome diſtance in a miſerable hut, their leader, Kelly of Moricrta, ordered one of his party to advance cautiouſly, and diſcover how many were here poſted; for it was immediately concluded that they had fallen upon a party of the rebels. He was informed that ſix perſons only were concealed in this retreat. Kelly and his party ruſhed forwards; but, on entering the hut, found that the rebels had fled at his approach, except one man of venerable aſpect, ſtretched languidly before a fire. The leader aſſailed and wounded him: he exclaimed, "Spare me, for I am the earl of Deſmond." Kelly ſmote off his head, and brought it to the earl of Ormond, by whom it was conveyed to the queen, and impaled on London-bridge.

In this manner was extinguiſhed a family, which had flouriſhed for four centuries in rude ſplendor and magnificence, and had frequently proved too powerful to be governed.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Transactions from the Year 1582 to the Death of Queen Elizabeth.

THE death of the earl of Desmond, and the suppression of his adherents, left Ireland free from any considerable disorder, and seemed to afford a fair occasion for effectually regulating this country upon the principles of justice and liberal policy. But besides the aversion of Elizabeth to every scheme which must be attended with considerable expence, some of her counsellors appear to have entertained an odious jealousy, which reconciled them to the distractions and miseries of Ireland. At the present juncture, however, the interests of the crown required that a prudent and vigorous administration should be established in Ireland. The southern provinces seemed to be totally depopulated, and, except within the cities, exhibited a hideous scene of famine and desolation. The vast tract of lands forfeited by Desmond and his followers, was to be parcelled out to new tenants: schemes were to be devised for lessening the annual expence of Ireland, a provoking burden to the queen, and increasing the revenue. The government of the kingdom was, therefore, committed to sir John Perrot, a man universally esteemed for his impartial administration of justice, one who had long studied the interests of Ireland, and whose policy was liberal and benevolent. He assumed the reins of government at a time when war and insurrection seemed to be extinguished, and when the last remaining rebel of any note, lord Baltinglass, had retired in despair to Spain. The first act of his administaation was the publishing a general amnesty, and assurance of pardon and protection to all who should return to their allegiance. The son of the earl of Desmond, who had been delivered up, he sent into England, to be educated in the principles of loyalty, so as to render him worthy of any favours which the royal clemency might bestow. A.D. 1584.

The new governor soon entered upon a progress into the different provinces of the kingdom. He began with that of Connaught, where a numerous rabble of the De Burghs had been ready for insurrection, but were now effectually intimidated by the presence of the deputy. They flocked to him with professions of loyalty, and the Irish chieftains were equally submissive. To give them

the advantages of a regular execution of the laws, he appointed ſheriffs for ſix counties, Clare, Galway, Sligo, Mayo, Roſcommon, and Leitrim; and preſidency of the whole province was aſſigned to Sir Richard Bingham.[a]

The lord deputy proceeded thence to the ſouthern province. On arriving at Limerick, intelligence was received that ſome Scottiſh troops, to the amount of a thouſand men, had made a deſcent upon the northern coaſt, and joined with their countrymen already ſettled in Ulſter, who ſeemed to meditate ſome innovation. He therefore returned to Dublin, where he received the ſubmiſſions and engagement of ſome Leinſter chieftains ſuſpected of diſaffection, and marched into the North. Here, alſo, the appearance of a governor, renowned for valour and juſtice, as well as for a humane attention to the ancient natives, had a ſudden and powerful effect. The new-arrived Scots fled to their ſhips, and left their brethren of Ulſter, after ſome ineffectual hoſtilities, to make their peace with government. The Iriſh chieftains crowded to Perrot with the moſt zealous profeſſions of loyalty and ſubmiſſion. They renewed their oaths of allegiance; ſeveral ſurrendered their lands, and received them from the queen by Engliſh tenures. Perrot, who knew how to improve theſe favourable diſpoſitions, proceeded farther, and prevailed on them to conſent to an aſſeſſment or compoſition, by which eleven hundred troops might be maintained in their province, without charge to the queen. Some of the moſt conſiderable Iriſh chieftains, who were engaged in conteſts about property, ſuch as had hitherto been uſually decided by arms, were now perſuaded to ſue each other in the queen's courts, and to abide by the determination of law[b]. And ſuch a ſenſe did they expreſs of the benefit of Engliſh law, and ſuch a deſire of receiving it, that Perrot projected a diviſion of the unreformed parts of Ulſter into ſeven new counties, Ardmagh, Monaghan, Tirone, Colerain, Donnegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan; for each of which he appointed ſheriffs, commiſſioners of the peace, coroners, and other neceſſary officers.

This ſucceſs of his negociations with the moſt powerful Iriſh chieftains, and the general tranquillity of the kingdom, encouraged Perrot to form more extenſive ſchemes for the improvement of Ireland. He propoſed to the privy-council of England, that fifty thouſand pounds, at which he rated the annual expence of the crown in maintaining the dominion of Ireland, ſhould be granted

[a] Uſher. [b] Hiſtory of the Government of Sir J. Perrot.

tain

him for three years; engaging on this condition to maintain a body of two thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe: to fortify ſeven towns, each of the extent of one mile; to build as many bridges, and to erect the like number of forts in proper ſituations, ſo as to encompaſs and ſtrengthen the whole kingdom with royal garriſons, connected by an eaſy and ſecure communication. But though the propoſition was repeated to the Engliſh parliament, yet neither the crown nor the legiſlature could be perſuaded to adopt this ſalutary meaſure. England, at preſent, was alarmed with inteſtine dangers, and the apprehenſion of foreign invaſion. The queen was impatient at the expences of the Iriſh government, and inſtead of conſenting to augment them, expected that Ireland ſhould ſupply forces for the Low Countries. All that Perrot could obtain was a ſmall ſum, in aid of the Ulſter compoſition, and a body of ſix hundred men, which he repreſented as abſolutely neceſſary to be incorporated with the forces of that province. A.D.1585.

In April, 1585, he convened a parliament at Dublin. By this time it ſeems to have become a mark of confidence in the chief governor, for the parliament to conſent to the ſuſpenſion of Poynings' law, and which it was in ſome ſort diſreputable not to obtain. The friends of ſir John Perrot accordingly moved for the ſuſpenſion of this law, in the houſe of commons, that the proceedings of parliament might be conducted with greater freedom and expedition. But the members of the Pale, who formed what in modern times is called the country-party, were by no means diſpoſed to entruſt a governor with the power of aſſenting to any laws which might be procured in parliament. It appears from their lerters to the Engliſh council, that they particularly apprehended ſome ſcheme of extraordinary and oppreſſive taxation. Whatever were their motives, they gave a vigorous oppoſition to the bill for ſuſpending Poynings' law, and notwithſtanding the moſt zealous efforts of the court, were enabled to overthrow it. Such was the temper of this houſe, that they refuſed to inveſt the queen with the lands of attainted perſons, without office or inquiſition; and to declare thoſe guilty of treaſon who ſhould rebelliouſly detain any of her caſtles.

New appearances of danger and diſorder in the North called the deputy again into this province. The king of Scots had promiſed to controul his roving ſubjects, and prevent their perpetual irruptions into Ulſter, but without effect. A freſh deſcent was made by a conſiderable

body, which, with the aſſiſtance of ſome unreformed Iriſh, infeſted the northern garriſons. This incident alone ſeemed not ſufficient to require the preſence of the chief governor: but Perrot had been alarmed with intelligence of ſchemes formed by the popiſh clergy, to introduce a foreign army into Ulſter. Senſible of the inconſtancy of the Iriſh, and that the firſt ſtorm of inſurrection might ſubvert thoſe arrangements which he had eſtabliſhed in the northern province, he therefore marched into Ulſter, where he ſoon learned that the danger from the Scots was already vaniſhed. They had been encountered by the queen's troops, and totally defeated. Perrot had now only to ſummon the Iriſh chieftains, who readily attended him at Dungannon. From thoſe ſuſpected of diſaffection he demanded hoſtages, which by moſt of them were delivered. After compoſing their private diſſenſions, and ſettling the government of the province, he returned to Dublin, whither he was attended by Sorleboy, the old Scottiſh chieftain, who ſubmitted, and renewed his engagements to government. An Engliſhman was ſo mean and barbarous as to inſult the unhappy father on the misfortune of his ſon, who had been executed after their defeat; and to point exultingly to his head, which was erected on a pole: the brave old Scot viewed the ſpectacle with a ſtern compoſure, and turning to his inſulter, with a menacing and indignant aſpect, "My ſon, ſaid he, hath many heads[c]."

All Perrot's cares and efforts for the complete ſettlement and reformation of the kingdom, could not ſecure him from the attacks of malice and diſcontent. As the eſtabliſhment of a univerſity in Ireland was become a favourite object, he had conceived the deſign of diſſolving the cathedral of St. Patrick, and converting its revenues to this purpoſe; a ſcheme which kindled the implacable reſentment of Loftus, archbiſhop of Dublin, and chancellor of Ireland, whoſe intereſt was conſiderably affected by it. His enemies were induſtrious to repreſent his conduct in the moſt exceptionable view; and were heard with too much attention in England. Even fraud and forgery were employed to effect his ruin. A letter was counterfeited, and ſent into England, in the name of Tirlaugh Lynnogh, complaining of the moſt oppreſſive injuries ſuſtained from the deputy. But this chieftain, in the warmth of gratitude for kindneſſes received, was

[c] Ware.

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at pains to discover the letter, and bear testimony to the rectitude of sir John Perrot's transactions with him. Another forgery, importing a protection granted by the deputy to a popish priest, in which were used the expressions of *our* kingdom of Ireland, and *our* castle of Dublin, was transmitted into England, and made a shameful impression on the mind of Elizabeth. In her resentment against him, she seemed even to have forgotten her own interest. Though a Spanish invasion was expected to fall on the South of Ireland, perpetual draughts were made from her garrisons, for the service of the Low Countries; nor could Perrot's most earnest applications obtain either forces or provisions for guarding against the danger. But with whatever neglect his propositions in this and other instances were received, he continued to administer his government with fidelity and zeal; until at last, after a variety of mortifications, he earnestly petitioned Elizabeth to relieve him from a burden, which the perverseness of her subjects in Ireland, of the English race, had rendered utterly intolerable; and whom, by restraining their oppressions of the ancient natives, he had provoked beyond all possibility of reconciliation. The queen consented to appoint a successor: but as the Spanish invasion was now expected, Perrot took care, before the intelligence of his speedy departure was divulged, to summon to the capital a number of lords and chieftains, who might be suspected of favouring a foreign enemy. In this time of danger he exhorted them to give the fullest assurances of their peaceable and loyal intentions, by delivering hostages to government. Having convinced them of the propriety of this measure, they were induced to consent. He then resigned the government to sir William Fitz-William, and embarked on his return to England, with the cordial acclamations, particularly of the lower orders of the people, who had felt the benefits of his administration. Old Tirlaugh of Tirowen followed him to the water-side, bathed in tears.

The new deputy assumed the reins of government at a favourable period, when an interval of tranquillity had put the kingdom in a prosperous state; when the provinces of Connaught and Munster were governed with vigour by sir Richard Bingham, and sir Thomas Norris, deputy to his brother John; when the discontents and secret practices of Ulster had not yet broken out into any violence, and might have easily been stifled by a moderate and equitable conduct. But the new governor appears

appears not to have been diſintereſted or even uncorrupt, much leſs poſſeſſed with liberal principles of policy.

A D. 1 88. On the defeat of the Spaniſh armada, ſeventeen ſhips of that fleet, containing about five thouſand four hundred men, were driven by ſtorm on the north and north-weſt coaſts of Ireland; where they were received by the natives, who conſidered them as their kinſmen, with the utmoſt kindneſs and hoſpitality[d]. The earl of Tirone was ſuſpected of having entered into a formal treaty with the Spaniards, and concerted dangerous ſchemes for favouring a future invaſion. Others of the Iriſh lords avowed their attachment to Spain with leſs reſerve. One thouſand Spaniards, under the command of Antonio de Leva, were caſt on the territory of O'Ruarc, the Iriſh chieftain of Breſſney, and there hoſpitably entertained. Bingham prepared to attack them, but the Iriſhman obſtinately oppoſed the attempt. The latter, according to the ideas of his countrymen, conſidered ſuch a troop as a powerful army; and, in conjunction with a neighbouring chieftain, urged Antonio to ſtay in Ireland, and to declare war againſt Elizabeth, whoſe power, he aſſured the Spaniard, might be eaſily overthrown. The foreigner, however, who probably entertained a different opinion, replied, that at preſent he was not warranted to engage in ſuch an enterprize; but that he ſhould ſpeedily return with ſuch powers, and ſuch an armament, as would effectually anſwer the purpoſe. He ſet ſail; but even in ſight of the Iriſh ſhore his ſhip foundered, and the whole crew periſhed. O'Ruarc was now abandoned to the vengeance of the lord preſident; who, after ſome hoſtilities, drove him for ſhelter into Scotland; where he was ſeized by order of the king, delivered to Elizabeth, and afterwards executed in London as a traitor.

Meanwhile, reports were conveyed to the lord deputy, that vaſt treaſures and ſtores of various kinds had been brought by the Spaniards into Ireland, and now lay ſecreted in the places where they had been entertained. Fitz-William, fired with the hopes of poſſeſſing himſelf of this maſs of wealth, firſt iſſued a commiſſion for ſearching and ſecuring it, as the property of the queen: but this expedient proving ineffectual, he marched in perſon into Ulſter, in the depth of winter, at no ſmall expence to the ſtate, in purſuit of this treaſure, which, whether his intelligence was falſe, or his ſearches artfully evaded, could

[d] Moryſon.

not

not be found. Sir Owen Mac Toole, father-in law to the earl of Tirone, and ſir John O'Dougherty, were ſaid to have poſſeſſed themſelves of a conſiderable part of the ſuppoſed ſtores. In the vexation of diſappointment, Fitz-William ſeized them, and, without the ſmalleſt proof of guilt, committed to cloſe durance in the caſtle of Dublin, two gentlemen who had done ſervices, and were known to be well-affected to government. The former was not releaſed until the ſeverity of his confinement had reduced him to the point of death. The latter, after an impriſonment of two years, was ſaid to have purchaſed his liberty by a conſiderable bribe.

This ſevere and arbitrary treatment of two perſons beloved and eſteemed among their countrymen, excited univerſal indignation. Many repented of their ſubmiſſions; and the diſaffected were confirmed in their inveteracy. The earl of Tirone, whoſe conſciouſneſs of his own ſecret practices ſerved to alarm him the more, and who was generally ſuſpected, determined to withdraw himſelf from the violence of Fitz-William; and with an affectation of duty and loyalty repaired to England, to caſt himſelf at the queen's feet, and renew his aſſurances of fidelity. Having departed without leave of the deputy, he was at firſt put under confinement; but ſo well diſſembled was the zeal of his ſubmiſſion and attachment to the government, that he was admitted before the privy-council, to give ſuch aſſurance of his future loyalty as ſhould be demanded. He agreed to find ſureties for his good behaviour, beſide hoſtages to be delivered to the Iriſh deputy, and to be exchanged once in three months [e].

This accommodation was ſcarcely completed, when the ſons of John O'Nial, who envied and dreaded the riſing power of Tirone, made a bold attempt to effect his ruin. Hugh, a baſtard ſon of John's, was commiſſioned to repair to the court of England, and to accuſe the earl of ſeveral articles of treaſon, particularly of having entered into ſecret negociations with Spain, by means of thoſe Spaniards who had been ſhipwrecked on his coaſt. Tirone affected to treat this accuſation with contempt: he imputed it to the enmity which his countrymen had conceived againſt him for his attachment to the queen; and obſerved, that he who had adviſed the extinction of the name of Nial, never could be forgiven by that haughty ſept. By theſe plauſible allegations he ſo wrought upon

[e] Moryſon.

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the council, that the accuſer was neglected, and the earl permitted to return to Ireland. His promiſes and aſſurances of fulfilling his engagements were renewed to the lord deputy; but when preſſed to execute his indentures in due form, he artfully replied, that all his neighbouring lords ſtood equally engaged with him, and that when they were ready to appear before the council, and enter into the neceſſary ſecurities, he ſhould be found equally prepared; but to execute his indentures ſingly while they continued free, would only expoſe his country to their lawleſs depredations, and deprive himſelf of all power of defence.

Meanwhile, the ſon of Donnel, who had been ſeized by the artifice of Perrot, with ſome of the O'Nials, ſons to John, and other hoſtages of the northern lords, impatient of a diſhonourable and ſevere captivity in the caſtle of Dublin, contrived to make their eſcape. They firſt attempted to bribe their keeper, who diſcloſed their offer to the lord deputy. The man was inſtantly diſplaced, and ſucceeded by one of the deputy's own ſervants; a circumſtance which gave riſe to a ſuſpicion that Fitz-William himſelf was not unacquainted with their deſign, nor averſe to favouring it. However this may be, the hoſtages effected their eſcape; and ſome of them proceeded directly, and without any difficulty, to their own country. Hugh O'Donnel, and Arthur, a youth of the family of O'Nial, being hotly purſued, fled for ſhelter to ſome of the Iriſh ſepts in the neighbourhood of the capital and gained a miſerable retreat in the dreary ſeaſon of the year; where their friends, terrified by the queen's troops, left them for ſome days to ſtruggle with the miſeries of cold and hunger; and when they at length ventured to their relief, found the young Nial expiring with famine, and Hugh O'Donnel deprived of the uſe of his limbs, by the ſeverity of cold, lamenting over his companion. He was carried to a houſe, attended, and reſtored. He regained his country with an implacable deteſtation of the Engliſh power, and was ſoon after, upon the reſignation of his father, inveſted with the Iriſh chieftainry of Tirconnel, ſo as to be enabled to give a freer courſe to his reſentment.

Fitz-William, by his intemperate conduct, inflamed the animoſity which was brooding in the northern province. Mac Mahon, chieftain of the diſtrict called Monaghan, had ſurrendered to the queen his lands, formerly held by tainiſtry, and received a new grant of them, under the

great-seal of England, to him and his heirs male, and in default of such issue, to his brother Hugh. As he died without issue, this brother petitioned to be admitted to his inheritance. He is said to have promised a considerable bribe, in order to facilitate his suit; and to his failure of payment it is imputed, that, on his arrival in Dublin, he was imprisoned for some days. Fitz-William, however, was prevailed upon to promise that he would settle him in peaceable possession of his inheritance, and for this purpose, that he meant to go in person into Monaghan. But the deputy had scarcely arrived in that district, when he eagerly received a new accusation against Hugh, that two years before, he had entered hostilely into a neighbouring district, to recover by force of arms some rent which was due to him. In the unreformed parts of Ireland, such actions were common and unnoticed; but the English law declared them treasonable. The unhappy Mac Mahon, for an offence committed before the law which rendered it capital had been established in his country, was tried, condemned by a jury said to be formed of private soldiers, and executed in two days; to the utter consternation of his countrymen. His estate was distributed to sir Henry Bagnal and other adventurers, with four of the old Irish sept [f].

The condemnation of this chieftain confirmed the Irish in their aversion to the English government, which they considered as a system of the most odious and cruel tyranny. They combined in a resolution to oppose the admittance of sheriffs, and other officers of justice, into their respective counties. When Fitz-William intimated to the chieftain of Fermanagh that he intended to send a sheriff into that district, Mac Guire answered, with a well-affected simplicity, "Your sheriff shall be welcome; but let me know his erick, that if my people should cut off his head, I may levy it upon the country."

The northerns were not yet ready to rise up in open opposition to the English government, but they were industrious in concerting measures for this purpose. The young chieftain of Tirconnel, to increase his consequence, married a daughter of the earl of Tirone's; an alliance which served to augment the suspicions already entertained of this earl by the friends of administration. He had found means to secure the person of his late accuser; and at once to gratify revenge, and to prevent all farther

[f] Irish MSS.

discovery

diſcovery of his ſecret practices, he inſtantly condemned the captive to die by the hand of the executioner.

The ſtate was alarmed, and the queen highly offended at this preſumptuous act of violence. But the earl pleaded that he had only exerciſed his power of martial law, in cutting off a notorious traitor: and as he was regularly inveſted with his power, the government could only expreſs its reſentment by withdrawing his commiſſion. Tirlaugh O'Nial complained of his outrages. Sir Henry Bagnal accuſed him of ſeducing the affections of his ſiſter, and marrying her while his former wife was living. But Tirone, who ſtill found it neceſſary to diſſemble, declared that his alliance with O'Donnel was intended merely to keep that chieftain firm to his allegiance; that the outrages which Tirlaugh had ſuffered were the conſequences of his own lawleſs violence; that far from ſeducing the ſiſter of ſir Henry Bagnal, ſhe had freely conſented to become his conſort; and that he was equally at liberty to accept her, as he had been regularly divorced from his former wife. He accuſed his brother-in-law of uſurping in Ulſter an authority inconſiſtent with his juſt rights; but at the ſame time, artfully requeſted the lords of her majeſty's council to prevail on Bagnal to be reconciled to him, that they might live as kinſmen and neighbours, and concur amicably in the ſervice of government. To give theſe profeſſions a greater air of ſincerity, he admitted his country to be formed into a ſhire, and divided into baronies, after the Engliſh model. The northern province, which harboured the moſt dangerous diſaffection, now ſeemed to be pacified; and the government found leiſure to attend to other diſtricts of the iſland. A compoſition for purveyance was eſtabliſhed in Munſter for three years; and the queen flattered by finding every province of Ireland at length diſpoſed to contribute to the augmentation of her revenue.

This interval of tranquillity was diſtinguiſhed by an event of ſtill greater honour to the queen's government, as well as of greater advantage to Ireland. This was the foundation of the univerſity of Dublin. The firſt attempt made by the Engliſh ſettlers to eſtabliſh an academical body in Ireland, was by Leek, archbiſhop of Dublin, in the year 1311. He procured a bull from Rome for the erection of a univerſity in Dublin; but the project ended with his death. The ſecond attempt was by his ſucceſſor Bricknor, immediately after the Scottiſh war, in the reign of Edward II. In the time of Edward IV.

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an act paſſed the Iriſh parliament, that a univerſity ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the town of Drogheda, with the ſame privileges as that of Oxford. But this, like other acts of Iriſh legiſlation, was totally diſregarded and forgotten in the tumult of civil affairs.

The ſpirit of diſaffection, which had by this time poſ- AD 1594.
ſeſſed moſt of the northern Iriſh, though it had not yet broken out into any conſiderable act of violence, yet could not entirely eſcape the vigilance of government. The conduct of Tirone, in particular, had in many inſtances appeared highly ſuſpicious. Sir Henry Bagnal, now his avowed enemy, had received ſuch information as he deemed ſufficient ground for a formal impeachment of this earl. He exhibited againſt him, to the council, ſeveral articles of treaſon, which were favourably received. Tirone anſwered, by letter, the points he alleged. Fitz-William, however, forgetting the impartiality becoming his ſtation, tranſmitted to England the accuſation, but ſuppreſſed the reply [g].

In the mean time, a creature of the lord deputy's who had ventured to exerciſe the office of ſheriff in Fermanagh, proceeded in the uſual way of ſpoiling and oppreſſing the wretched inhabitants, with his rapacious train of followers. Mac Guire, the Iriſh chieftain of this diſtrict, was ſo provoked, that he roſe up in arms, and was on the point of cutting off the ſheriff and all his attendants, when Tirone interpoſed, and, with an affected ſolicitude for their ſafety, prevailed on his countrymen to allow them a peaceable departure. He knew how to diſplay this ſervice in England; and thither he inſtantly tranſmitted the moſt pathetic complaints of the lord deputy's partiality, and the iniquity of Bagnal. To every article on which he was accuſed, he ſent a plauſible reply, offering even to appear in England, and there defend his cauſe, or to maintain his innocence in ſingle combat with his adverſary. By this means he ſo wrought upon the lords of Engliſh council, that they declared themſelves fully ſatisfied with his defence, commended his conduct in Fermanagh, and reproved the lord-deputy for his partiality.

The earl ſoon found another occaſion of diſplaying his pretended loyalty. The outrage committed by Mac Guire determined the lord-deputy and council to oppoſe him as a traitor. Bagnal was ordered with ſome troops to attack him in Fermanagh: Bingham led the queen's

g Iriſh MSS. Moryſon.

forces to oppoſe his machinations in Connaught, whither he proceeded at the inſtigation of one Mac Guaran, a factious eccleſiaſtic, whom the pope had inveſted with the title of prelate of Armagh. In this province the chieftain gained ſome aſſociates, and excited ſome commotions, by means of a commiſſion which Mac Guaran pretended to have received from the king of Spain; and the aſſurances which he laviſhed of an immediate and effectual ſupport from that monarch. Bingham preſſed with vigour on the inſurgents: in the firſt encounter the turbulent prieſt was killed, and Mac Guire driven into his own territory; where the chieftain of Tyrconnel, and ſome mercenary Scots, united with him againſt the Engliſh. The earl of Tirone, with all the alacrity of a faithful ſubject, joined the ſtandard of Bagnal; and in an action, in which the Iriſh aſſociates were defeated, diſtinguiſhed himſelf with ſuch zeal, that he received a wound in the thigh. Yet with all this appearance of loyalty, his countrymen acknowlege, that he now held a ſecret correſpondence with the enemy: and ſuch was his conſciouſneſs of guilt, or, as he pretended, his fears of Bagnal, that he ſuddenly withdrew from the camp, without taking any farther part in this petty war. Eniſkillen, the chief fortreſs of Mac Guire, was taken, or, as the Iriſh writers allege, was betrayed to ſir Richard Bingham. But no ſooner had an Engliſh garriſon been ſtationed there, and the reſt of the queen's forces withdrawn, than it was again cloſely inveſted by O'Donnel. This chieftain, with leſs inſidious caution than Tirone, openly declared hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh; ſent one of the popiſh biſhops into Spain to ſolicit aſſiſtance from Philip; and, provoked to impatience at the duplicity of the earl, declared, that if he delayed any longer to unite with his countrymen, he ſhould conſider him as an enemy. This precipitation little ſuited with the policy of Tirone, who was inclined to wait the arrival of a powerful foreign ſuccour, to give the greater effect to their inſurrection. To pacify the chieftain of Tyrconnel, however, his brother, Cormac O'Nial, marched with ſome troops to his aſſiſtance.

But however cautiouſly this earl avoided a premature declaration againſt the Engliſh government, yet new incidents obliged him, for his own intereſt and ſecurity, to give ſome farther offence. Tirlaugh, who had ſo long enjoyed the Iriſh chieftainry of Tirone by permiſſion of the government, was now approaching to his diſſolution.

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The earl knew sufficiently the consequence of succeeding to a title which commanded a habitual reverence and obedience in his country. His only rivals were the sons of the late John O'Nial, who had been suffered to escape from the castle of Dublin. These he contrived to seize, and cast into chains; and, on the death of the old chieftain, immediately assumed the important title of O' Nial. Nor was he without pretences for palliating these acts of outrage. He pleaded in particular, that he had assumed the chieftainry merely to prevent its being seized by some other of his sept, less favourably disposed than himself to the English government; and that he determined to resign it, whenever a regular polity should be established in his territory. However unsatisfactory these reasons might be deemed, the members of administration, on account of the present weakness of the state, were obliged to appear contented.

The lord-deputy Fitz-William having solicited and obtained his recal, was succeeded by sir William Russel, son to the earl of Bedford. Tirone, who had for some time affected the greatest terror of the government, and entirely absented himself from the capital, now suddenly appeared before the new governor, (as if the injustice of Fitz-William had been his only ground of apprehension) lamented the injuries he had sustained from the malicious insinuations of his enemies, and made the most zealous professions of his submission and devotion to the queen. Russel, less acquainted with his character, was affected with the apparent sincerity of these professions: but Bagnal, who knew his insidious practices, and was besides possessed with a personal enmity towards him, assured the deputy that all the disorders of the North had been owing to the machinations of this dangerous subject; and by enumerating the suspicious circumstances of his conduct, and charging him with several acts of disloyalty, so far prevailed, that it became a question, whether the earl should not be committed to custody. Russel declared for this measure; but the majority of the council, either through fear, or affection, pleaded against such rigour: and, to the utter dissatisfaction of the queen's English ministers, Tirone was dismissed, to concert new schemes against the public tranquility [a].

The deputy now resolved to prosecute the insurgents of the North, and particularly to relieve the castle of Enniskillen.

[a] Ware.

killen. For this purpoſe, leaving the earl of Ormond to command in Leinſter, which was harraſſed by the turbulence of the Iriſh ſepts, he led his forces towards Fermanagh; but ſoon learned that his expedition was too late. The Engliſh troops, detached againſt the beſiegers, had received a total defeat from O'Donnel and his confederates; and the garriſon, reduced to extreme diſtreſs, had ſurrendered; and were without mercy butchered by the Iriſh, who pleaded, that they thus revenged the cruelty exerciſed by Bingham on reducing this fort. In all the licentious triumph of victorious barbarians, they penetrated into Connaught, committed the moſt cruel outrages in all the well-affected quarters, beſieged the Engliſh fort of Belleek, cut off a detachment ſent to its relief, and practiſed their uſual barbarity on the garriſon, when famine had compelled them to ſurrender. To complete his triumph, O'Donnel was enabled to eſtabliſh one of the degenerate De Burghos, his aſſociate, chieftain of this diſtrict, by the name of the Mac-William; while Bingham, the lord preſident of Connaught, had no military force ſufficient to oppoſe theſe outrages.

The queen and her miniſters were alarmed at the intelligence of theſe hoſtilities, and convinced of the neceſſity of ſome vigorous exertion in defence of her Iriſh intereſts. Her ſervants in Ireland had unwarily, by overtures of accommodation, inflamed the ſpirits of the inſurgents, who thereby diſcovered the weakneſs of the government, and were conſequently encouraged to make their demands the more arrogant. Though the queen affected to reject the idea of all diſhonourable conceſſions, her deputy was yet inſtructed to practiſe with O'Donnel, and to endeavour to detach him from Tirone, who was conſidered as the ſecret ſpring of all the northern commotions. But what was of greater conſequence, two thouſand veteran troops, who, under their leader Norris, had been diſtinguiſhed in Brittany, and one thouſand more, levied in England, were now deſtined for the Iriſh ſervice. And as Ruſſel had inadvertently ſolicited the queen, that ſome experienced commander ſhould be appointed to aſſiſt him in the conduct of the war, ſhe ſent thither ſir John Norris, an officer of ſuch diſtinguiſhed character, as muſt eclipſe the deputy, and was beſides entruſted, in his abſence, with the abſolute command of all military affairs [b].

[b] Ware.

Tirone

Tirone justly dreaded these preparations, especially as it was the avowed intention of the government to form a chain of forts round the territories of the disaffected lords of Ulster, so as to keep them in continual awe, and effectually restrain their incursions. This earl, knowing that his countrymen were to be retained only by an appearance of activity and valour, determined to strike some important blow before the enemy should be reinforced. On a frivolous pretence of injuries received from the English soldiers at Blackwater, he ventured to attack their fort, and to expel the garrison. And, as if the boldness of this outrage had confounded and distracted him, he endeavoured by letters to exasperate the earl of Kildare against the government, and to seduce him from his allegiance; he dispatched his emissaries to Spain, with most pressing instances for immediate succours: and at the same time, when the deputy, with the English forces, was advancing against him, he, by other letters, professed his submission and attachment to the crown; imputing his late conduct to necessity and self-defence; entreating the queen's minister to entertain favourable sentiments of him, and not to drive him headlong into rebellion, by a rigorous and unmerited prosecution. But Bagnal, his inveterate enemy, by contriving to intercept and secrete these letters, gave him a pretence for continuing his hostilities. The castle of Monaghan, where an English garrison had been stationed, was invested by the insurgents; and the attempts of Norris to relieve it produced some skirmishes, in which the danger and address of Tirone were the most remarkable. One Sedgrave, an English officer, observing where he had taken his station, and was issuing his orders, assaulted and unhorsed him. The earl in falling, contrived to seize his antagonist, and dragged him to the ground. The Englishman, who still had the advantage, prepared to dispatch him; but the earl, prostrate and incumbered as he was, had the dexterity to save himself, by plunging a dagger deeply into the body of Sedgrave.[c] A.D. 1595.

These petty hostilities were soon suspended by the weak and temporizing policy of the queen, impatient to disengage herself, by any means, from the disorders of Ireland. She sent over a commission, empowering Wallop, the treasurer at war, and Gardiner, the chief justice, to treat with Tirone and his associates, to hear their com-

[c] Davis.

plaints, and to receive their overtures, in order to an effectual accommodation. The inſurgents accepted the propoſal, but peremptorily refuſed to meet the commiſſioners at Dundalk. The conference was held in the open field. Tirone firſt explained his grievances; complained of the injuſtice of Bagnal, in uſurping in Ulſter a juriſdiction inconſiſtent with his juſt rights; of his unreaſonable and implacable reſentment in attempting to ſeparate him from his wife, and with-holding her portion; of his perfidy in ſecreting his letters to the governor, and by a ſeries of injuries forcing him to take arms, and to apply to the queen's enemies for protection. He required a full pardon for himſelf and his followers; that they ſhould be allowed the free exerciſe of their religion; that Bagnal ſhould be compelled to pay the portion of his ſiſter, who had now ſunk under the affliction occaſioned by his cruelty; that his country ſhould be freed from Engliſh garriſons and ſheriffs; that his troop of horſe ſhould be reſtored to him; and that all thoſe who had ravaged his territory ſhould be obliged to make due reſtitution. O'Donnel next proceeded to expatiate on his grievances, as did every inferior chieftain; and all concurred in the ſame general demands of a free exerciſe of religion, and an exemption from garriſons and ſheriffs. They were heard with temper: ſome of their allegations were confeſſed to be juſt; and ſome indulgence acknowledged to be reaſonable. In the eſſential articles, they were informed no deciſion could be made, until the royal pleaſure ſhould be known. In the mean time, ſome points were propounded on the queen's part, tending to ſuſpend their hoſtilities. It was demanded that the inſurgents ſhould lay down their arms, admit ſheriffs into their country, repair the forts they had demoliſhed, leave the Engliſh garriſons unmoleſted, reſtore what they had unjuſtly ſeized, diſcover upon oath their tranſactions with foreign princes, and ſolemnly promiſe never more to enter into any engagements againſt their ſovereign. But theſe haughty lords, who, in the condeſcenſions of the government, diſcerned its fears and weakneſs, rejected ſuch overtures with diſdain; and broke up the congreſs, conſenting only to a truce of a few days.

This inſolence of the northern inſurgents had a dangerous influence on the diſaffected in other parts of Ireland. In Connaught the flame of war had been already kindled, and notwithſtanding all the efforts of ſir Richard Bingham, the Iriſh gained ſeveral advantages; while the diſaffected

diſaffected of Munſter, ſecretly encouraged by emiſſaries, grew likewiſe turbulent and alarming. Even in Leinſter, the petty Iriſh chieftains boldly demanded a reſtoration of their ancient power and poſſeſſions, and extended their outrages from Wexford to the walls of Dublin [d].

Theſe complicated diſorders were to be oppoſed by an army, which, though lately reinforced, was ſtill utterly inadequate to ſuch a ſervice; encumbered rather than ſtrengthened by numbers of the Iriſh race, all of whom were ſuſpected, and many really ill-diſpoſed to the cauſe in which they were engaged. The Engliſh ſoldiers were naturally leſs robuſt and active, leſs patient of labour and hardſhips than their antagoniſts, and the air and food of Ireland ever proved unfriendly to their conſtitutions. They were not duly ſupplied either with proviſions or ammunition. Their general, the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſoldier of the age, was not only ſenſible of all theſe diſadvantages, but was piqued at the lord deputy, who betrayed the utmoſt diſſatisfaction, and moſt diſhonourable envy, at his character and authority, and ſtudied to controul and diſtreſs him.

Though Norris was, from his diſcernment, inclined to lenient and conciliating meaſures, rather than a vigorous proſecution of the rebels, yet, at the expiration of the truce, he marched with the lord-deputy to the borders of Tirone, with a force ſo terrifying to the inſurgents in that quarter, that the rebel earl abandoned the fort of Blackwater, ſet fire to the town of Dungannon, without ſparing his own houſe, deſtroyed the adjacent villages, and retired into the woods, which then overſpread thoſe parts of Ulſter. In this progreſs, Tirone and his principal aſſociates were indicted, ſummoned, condemned in a regular procedure, and proclaimed traitors. But ſuch was the diſtreſs occaſioned by their laying the country waſte, that the lord deputy was ſoon obliged to return to Dublin; having firſt ſtationed garriſons at Armagh and Monaghan, the latter of which places had been reduced, and was now abandoned by the enemy. Sir John Norris was left with part of the royal army on the borders of Ulſter, to proſecute the war againſt the northern inſurgents, while the lord-deputy profeſſed to march againſt thoſe of Leinſter.

Winter now approaching, the Iriſh covered themſelves in their retreats; while Norris judged it expedient to keep his ſtation, without venturing to ſeek them out. During

[d] MSS. Trin. Col. Dub.

this suspension of military operations, the northern Irish had leisure to reflect calmly on their enterprise. Spain, their principal reliance, had not yet sent any succours. They were opposed by an experienced general, and a greater force than had usually been collected against them. They determined, therefore, to recur to the arts of dissimulation, by which at least the time might be protracted, until a foreign invasion should arrive. They dispatched to the queen letters full of penitence and submission; and at the same time Tirone made the most pathetic addresses to sir John Norris, lamenting the condition to which he was reduced, by injustice and cruelty, and expressing the most ardent desire to return to duty and allegiance. His representations were so plausible and insinuating, that Norris was confirmed in his former sentiments of moderation, and even felt compassion for this apparently injured and unhappy lord. The queen, principally attentive to other objects, was well pleased at any prospect of composing the insurrections of Ireland; and by her commission to
A.D.1596. sir John Norris, and sir Geoffry Fenton, his Irish secretary of state, empowered them to grant pardon to all rebels who should with due humility seek her royal mercy. At another congress, appointed at Dundalk, Tirone renewed his professions of submission, imploring the king's pardon, "upon the knees of his heart," as he expressed it, and confirming his sincerity by the most solemn imprecations. He promised to desist from aiding the rebels; to admit a sheriff into his country; to renounce the title of O'Nial; to confess his intelligence with foreign powers; to rebuild the fort and bridge of Blackwater; to supply the English garrison to be stationed there; to lay down his arms; deliver hostages; to pay a fine to the queen; and with respect to the enlargement of John O'Nial's sons, he consented that it should be referred to the queen's future pleasure, after she had heard and understood their offences. O'Donnel, Magwire, O'Ruarc, and others of his confederates, agreed to like articles, and made the like submissions. A promise of pardon was delivered to each lord on his submission; and, that they might not be molested by any act of hostility, a proclamation of these transactions was made to the queen's subjects[e].

Whether these concessions of the northern Irish were made in consequence of a premeditated scheme of perfidy and fraud, merely calculated to gain time; or whether

[e] Ware.

they

they proceeded from despair of any succours from Spain, as Philip was now entirely engaged by the war in France; certain it is, that scarcely had the treaty been concluded, when the insurgents repented of it. The king of Spain, though he could not at present spare any considerable force for an invasion of Ireland, was yet desirous to encourage the malcontents of this kingdom, until he should be at leisure to derive some advantage from them. Three pinnaces from Spain arrived on the northern coasts, with some stores of ammunition, and letters from Philip to the Irish chieftains, exhorting them to persevere in their opposition to the English power, and assuring them of immediate support. The Irish, fired with this interesting intelligence, were ashamed of their late concessions, and impatient for some pretence to violate their treaty. Tirone, with his usual dissimulation, transmitted to the lord-deputy and the council a letter, declaring the sincerity of his submission; and, at the same time, took care to convey the assurances of a speedy invasion to Pheah Mac-Hugh, chieftain of the sept of O'Birne, and the principal insurgents of Leinster, as well as to the disaffected of Munster; all of whom were exhorted to take arms, and unite with the northerns, for the assistance of the catholic religion.

Meanwhile, Norris, who imagined that he had restored the peace of Ulster, judged it proper to march into Connaught, to suppress the commotions in that province, where the malcontents had seized some of the English forts, and foiled the attempts of Bingham to recover them. Their numbers were so considerable, that Norris demanded from the lord-deputy some additional forces, as well as a supply of provisions, to enable him to act against them with the necessary vigour. Russel, not displeased at his distresses, coldly replied, that the country must supply the wants of his army; and as to men, he could not send them, as himself intended to march into the West. The united efforts of the lord-deputy and general, soon quelled the insurgents of this province. One castle only made any shew of resistance. Here the Irish gallantly replied to Russel's summons, that they would not surrender, though his whole army were lord-deputies; and accordingly obliged him to force it by storm. Others fled to their private haunts, or submitted; pleading in alleviation of their offence, that they had been drove into rebellion by the intolerable oppressions of sir Richard Bingham. So clamorous and positive were these charges, that Bingham,

impatient to juſtify his conduct, hurried without leave into England. The queen, inſtead of hearing his defence, ordered him inſtantly to priſon; whence he was conveyed to Connaught, in cuſtody of ſir Conyers Clifford, who was appointed to ſucceed him as lord-preſident of this province. Commiſſioners were directed to hear his cauſe, in the place where his accuſers had full opportunity of proving their allegations. He was acquitted, reſtored to favour, and afterwards employed by the queen.

While the malcontents of Connaught retired before the queen's forces, and waited for ſome favourable occaſion of returning to the field, the chieftains of the North grew ſtill more impatient of their late treaty, and were meditating how to reſcind it. Tirone, in particular, complained of freſh injuries and provocations; inſolently adding to his liſt of grievances, that after the pacification of Connaught, the government had preſumed to proſecute his friend and ally Pheagh Mac-Hugh, with others of the inſurgents of Leinſter. In revenge of this intolerable wrong, the earl harraſſed the Engliſh garriſon at Armagh, cut off their proviſions, and inveſted the town. In conſequence of theſe outrages, Norris again marched to the northern borders. Before his arrival, the garriſon of Armagh had been obliged to capitulate, and were diſmiſſed with honour and ſafety: and agreeably to that pernicious policy, which the general himſelf had but too much favoured, a commiſſion arrived from England for treating once more with the earl of Tirone, and accommodating the differences of the North by an amicable conference. The rebel earl had engaged in his petty hoſtilities merely to keep alive the zeal and ſpirit of his countrymen: the ſucceſs of his practices in other provinces of Ireland, as well as of his negociations with Spain, was as yet uncertain: he therefore gladly embraced the opportunity of delaying and amuſing the Engliſh government. He attended the commiſſioners with all the affectation of humility and reſignation, repeated his ſolemn aſſeverations of the ſincerity and integrity of his intentions, pretended to reveal all the ſecret practices of his aſſociates and their correſpondence with Spain; renouncing all his hopes of happineſs both here and hereafter, if he were not truly and faithfully determined to approve himſelf a loyal ſubject to the queen, provided he might be pardoned, and taken under her majeſty's protection [f].

[f] Ware.

The

The commissioners had now to transmit to the English ministry a report of this conference, with the professions of Tirone, and to wait for new instructions; until the arrival of which, hostilities were suspended. Meanwhile Tirone trained and exercised his men; the disaffected, who, from all quarters of the kingdom poured into his territory, were retained, and instructed in the use of arms. Emissaries were privately dispatched to raise the drooping spirits of the western Irish, to concert schemes of insurrection with the rebellious septs of Leinster, and to encourage the enemies of government in Munster, to revenge the severities they had endured, and to exterminate the new usurpers of their lands. Every day gave Tirone additional strength, and fairer prospects of success; so that when instructions arrived for holding a second conference, in which he was to be finally restored to favour, he recurred to his old pretences of breach of promise on the part of government; that his hostages had not been exchanged according to agreement, nor restitution made for the ravages committed in his lands; and that he could not attend the commissioners with safety or with honour. This article produced a mean solicitation on the part of government to Tirone, that he would not wantonly reject the last offers of mercy and reconciliation which the queen would deign to make. He coldly replied, that he had little hope of any performance of articles, as he had been already deceived by confiding in the queen's officers: that the intentions of the general indeed had ever been just and honourable, but had been fatally counteracted by the deputy: and as sir John Norris was to be speedily removed from his command, and the grievances of the Northerns to be submitted to a new chief governor, whose principles and character were entirely unknown, he had the less reason to expect a favourable conclusion of their differences. He condescended, however, to propose a time and scene of conference, which, he well knew, could not be accepted. A.D.1597.

The crafty earl was not deceived in the intelligence which had encouraged him to this reply. The English ministers, not considering the wants and difficulties which sir John Norris had to encounter, nor the nature of the service in which he was engaged, were astonished that a commander of such great reputation had not gained some important advantages in Ireland. The earl of Essex, the queen's distinguished favourite, had been the rival, and was the enemy of Norris. By his practices, a new lord-deputy,

deputy, lord Burgh, a man of sufficient ability in war, was sent into Ireland with full powers, both in civil and military affairs. On his arrival, sir John Norris was abruptly ordered to his government of Munster, where the anguish of disappointment and disgrace so wrought on the sensibility of this gallant leader, that in the space of two months, without any apparent malady, he suddenly expired in the embraces of his brother.

Lord Burgh entered on his government with a full persuasion that no dependence was to be placed on the insidious professions of Tirone, and that the disorders of Ireland could never be terminated by the prosecution of conferences, and ignominious concessions[s]. He had been instructed, and was determined, to pursue the rebels with vigour, as the only effectual means of securing their obedience. He deemed it expedient, however, at the instances of Tirone, to grant a cessation of arms for one month; and this interval he employed in collecting his forces, and concerting his operations. The earl of Kildare, the baron of Trimbleston, and other lords of the Pale, attended his standard with their followers; and as he resolved to penetrate into the very heart of the northern insurrection, sir Conyers Clifford was ordered to march his forces through Connaught, and meet the deputy at the fort of Blackwater. Tirone acted on his part with equal vigour: he lay with his main body strongly intrenched near the town of Armagh. Tyrrel, a degenerate Englishman, his associate, was sent into Leinster with a troop of five hundred men, to incite the disaffected septs to make a powerful diversion in that province; while his emissaries in Connaught animated the malcontents to oppose the intended progress of sir Conyers Clifford.

The commencement of hostilities seemed to presage a favourable issue to the Irish. A son of lord Trimbleston's was detached with a thousand men to attack Tyrrel and his party; when the experience and address of the rebel-leader supplying the deficiency of his numbers, he gave the royalists a total defeat, and sent their young commander a prisoner to Tirone, otherwise called O'Nial. Clifford, who led his small body of seven hundred men towards the northern province, found himself suddenly opposed by two thousand desperate rebels, whom he was utterly unable to encounter. Being obliged to make a

[s] Sullivan.

retreat,

retreat, he conducted it with ſo much judgement and ſucceſs, that, though inceſſantly harraſſed by the enemy in a march of thirty miles, he yet regained his quarters without any conſiderable loſs.

Lord Burgh, undaunted by theſe diſaſters, marched into Ulſter, and boldly attacked the northern army in its intrenchments [h]. The reſiſtance of the rebels was obſtinate; but the Engliſh forces perſevered, and were ſucceſsful. They forced their way to the fort of Blackwater, which was eaſily taken; but the rebels again appeared, and renewed the attack; nor were they repelled without ſome loſs and danger. The deputy, having ſtationed an Engliſh garriſon in the fort, reſolved to pierce to Dungannon, the chief reſidence of Tirone. The Iriſh forces occupied the defiles, and ſeemed determined to oppoſe his paſſage. But the ſudden death of Lord Burgh relaxed all military operations. The command of the royal army now devolved to the earl of Kildare, who deemed it moſt prudent to ſecure the ground already gained; but he did not long ſurvive the lord-deputy. His two foſter-brethren had been killed, in reſcuing him from the enemy; and ſuch was his ſenſibility, and the tender affection he bore for them, that he pined with affliction, and died lamenting their fall [i].

On the death of lord Burgh, the council, as uſual, appointed a temporary ſucceſſor, and committed the reins of government to ſir Thomas Norris, lord preſident of Munſter: but at his own requeſt, the queen immediately appointed a new adminiſtration. The civil government was committed to Loftus, archbiſhop of Dublin, and chancellor of Ireland, and to ſir Robert Gardiner, chief-juſtice. The military was entruſted to the earl of Ormond, with the title of lord-lieutenant of the army. So alarming were the diſorders of Leinſter, that the new general thought it neceſſary to confine himſelf to this province; while ſir Henry Bagnal was detached to the borders of Ulſter, to awe the northerns, and ſupport the garriſons of Armagh and Blackwater. But Tirone now found it expedient to recur to his former artifices. He affected particular ſatisfaction that ſo conſiderable a ſhare of authority in Ireland had been committed to the earl of Ormond, from whom he looked for the regards of a countryman. Addreſſing himſelf, in his uſual terms of humiliation, to this lord, he lamented his unhappy condi-

h Sulliv. i Cox.

tion,

tion, pleaded his grievances, and implored the earls favourable interpoſition with the queen, for pardon and protection to a penitent offender, whoſe baſe relapſes could not indeed be juſtified, but were palliated by the wrongs he had ſuſtained. This new overture of accommodation was tranſmitted to the queen, and Ormond empowered to confer with him at Dundalk, where it was agreed, that a ceſſation of arms ſhould be made for eight weeks, in order to give the northern lords an opportunity of ſtating their grievances at large, and tranſmitting them to the queen [k]. Tirone, on his part, engaged to recal his forces from Leinſter; to hold no correſpondence with Spain during the ceſſation, but to diſcover any intelligence he might receive thence; neither to commit nor countenance any outrage, nor aid thoſe who ſhould preſume to violate the truce; to give ſafe-conduct to her majeſty's officers; to victual the fort of Blackwater; and, as a token of his ſubmiſſion, to deliver forty beeves for the uſe of the garriſon. Ormond promiſed that the Northerns ſhould have the ſame permiſſion to purchaſe proviſions in the Pale, which the queen's ſubjects were to be allowed in Ulſter; that ſome of Tirone's aſſociates depending on the truce, ſhould be ſeized by the government, without his conſent; and that the ſoldiery ſhould be reſtrained from all violence and rapine.

To this conference ſucceeded another, in which the rebel-earl was informed of the conditions required by the queen, in return for granting her gracious pardon to him, and all the inhabitants of Tirone. He was deſired to renew his ſubmiſſion publickly and ſolemnly; to detach himſelf from his confederates, diſperſe his forces, and diſmiſs all ſtrangers; to renounce the title of O'Nial, with all its pretended rights and juriſdictions; to repair the damages formerly made by him in the fort and bridge of Blackwater, and to furniſh the garriſon with proviſions at an equitable rate; to diſcover all his tranſactions with Spain; and to admit a ſheriff into his country; to pay a fine in ſatisfaction for his offence; to deliver up all traitors who ſhould attempt to conceal themſelves in his lands; to ſurrender the ſons of John O'Nial into the hands of Ormond; and, as a ſurety for the faithful performance of theſe articles, to give his eldeſt ſon as a hoſtage.

[k] Moryſon.

Tirone,

Tirone, with leſs humility than he had formerly aſſumed, canvaſſed all theſe articles; to ſome he objected, and to others he demanded explanations. He could not engage to detach himſelf from his confederates, unleſs time were granted them to come in and ſubmit, ſo that they might not charge him with a clandeſtine deſertion of their intereſts. While he promiſed to renounce the name of O'Nial, he reſerved the rights uſually annexed to the chieftainry of his country: as he had not received the ſons of John from the ſtate, he peremptorily refuſed to ſurrender them: he agreed to receive a ſheriff; but required that a gentleman of the county only ſhould be choſen to this office; and that the appointment ſhould for ſome time be deferred.

Though theſe conditions were far from being honourable to the influence or power of the adminiſtration, yet his pardon, at the preſſing inſtances of the earl of Ormond, received the great ſeal. At the ſame time, O'Ruarc, the principal inſurgent of Connaught, made ſubmiſſion to ſir Conyers Clifford, and promiſed, for himſelf and his followers, the moſt faithful allegiance to the crown.

From theſe auſpicious events, the queen and her miniſters entertained ſanguine hopes of a ſpeedy reſtoration of tranquility to this diſtracted kingdom; but they had the mortification of an immediate and ſevere diſappointment. Tirone, with an affected diſregard of that mercy, which he had repeatedly and ſo eaſily obtained, or rather extorted, omitted to plead his pardon, or to proceed through thoſe forms of law, neceſſary to reinſtate him in the condition of a loyal ſubject. In the late conference, he had artfully demanded a ceſſation for one year; expecting, probably, that by this time he ſhould receive ſuccours from the king of Spain; and that the queen, who evidently regarded the affairs of Ireland with diſguſt, as a great embarraſſment to her favourite purſuits, would inadvertently ſuffer her forces in this country to waſte in a ſervice of diſtreſs, and an unfavourable climate. And though he could obtain only a truce of two months, yet he knew that the army under Ormond, from its ſhattered condition, could not be recruited to any formidable degree at the expiration of that period. Fully ſenſible of the weakneſs of the enemy, he determined to recommence hoſtilities, without any regard to promiſes or treaties, which he conſidered as mere temporary expedients.

His

His first attempt was to cut off the English garrison of Armagh from their usual supplies of provision; to effect which purpose he encamped between that town and Newry, where Bagnal was stationed with his forces[l]. After an unsuccessful, but inconsiderable encounter, he proceeded to attack the fort of Blackwater, his great obstacle and disgrace: but the place being obstinately defended against all his efforts, he determined, as the only expedient left, to reduce it by famine. In this situation, Bagnal received orders to relieve the fort; to which he marched with an army consisting of four thousand five hundred foot, and five hundred horse. At the distance of three miles from the place, he found the rebel forces drawn up to oppose him, and amounting to four thousand five hundred foot, and six hundred horse. The generals on each side were inflamed with mortal enmity against each other; and the superstitious Irish were animated even to phrenzy by their priests, who assured them, upon the faith of old prophecies, that this day would prove fatal to heresy. Their assault corresponded to the fury with which they were actuated; and the dispositions of Bagnal are said to have been by no means judicious. In the heat of the engagement, an accidental explosion of some powder threw the loyalists into great disorder; and was immediately succeeded by the death of their general, who, in raising his beaver, received a fatal shot in the forehead. The rebels obtained a complete victory. Fifteen hundred soldiers of the royal army, and thirteen gallant officers, were slain in the field. The Irish acknowledged only the loss of two hundred slain, and six hundred wounded. They became masters of all the artillery, ammunition, and provisions, of the royal
A.D.1598. army, beside a quantity of arms. The fort of Blackwater immediately surrendered; and the remains of the royalists, who had fled for shelter to Armagh, were soon obliged to evacuate that town[m].

In the present situation of affairs in Ireland, this victory was of the utmost importance. The illustrious O'Nial was every where extolled as the deliverer of his country. Those in Ulster, who had hitherto wavered in their allegiance, now declared at once against the government. In Connaught the revolt was general. The Irish septs of Leinster, who had formerly confined themselves to some short occasional insurrections, now broke out in the

[l] Sulliv. [m] Ibid.

full

full fury of rebellion, and bade defiance to English government. Various were the discontents of the great Irish lords of the South. Those particularly, whose lands had been forfeited in the Desmond rebellion, were inspired with implacable resentment. Such as had undertaken the plantation of these lands, either entirely abandoned them, or neglected to fulfil their engagements: the disaffected Irish swarmed in their estates; and instead of being able to furnish two thousand fighting men, the number stipulated with the government, no more than two hundred, of English birth, could be found among them, on the entrance of the rebels into Munster. The flame of insurrection was instantly lighted up, and spread through all the southern province. Those Geraldines, known by the fantastical Irish titles of Knight of the Valley, and the White Knight, joined in the rebellion: and to give their party greater weight, James, nephew to the late unfortunate lord Gerald, was by the agents of Tirone solemnly invested with the title of earl of Desmond; which, with his lands, now to be recovered, he stipulated to hold in vassalage to the O'Neal. Having no enemy to encounter, the rebels every where committed the most desperate outrages.

The present condition of the English government appeared extremely desperate. The royalists, cooped up in towns, acted every where on the defensive, harrassed and insulted by the enemy, who rioted in all enormities through every quarter of the kingdom. The chieftain of Tirone, who claimed the merit of all this havock, dispatched his emissaries to the king of Spain, magnifying his successes, professing his attachment, and requesting succours for effectually accomplishing the extinction of the English government. On the other hand, repeated dispatches were sent into England, representing the dangerous situation of Irish affairs, with pressing instances for a reinforcement. The queen, more provoked at the vexatious burden, than solicitous for the welfare of her Irish dominions, condemned the conduct of Ormond in not undertaking the northern war in person, instead of entrusting it to sir Henry Bagnal; gave him the strictest injunctions to purge the army of Irish; named sir Richard Bingham, now restored to favour, to succeed the former, as marshal of Ireland; and on his sudden death, appointed sir Samual Bagnal to lead two thousand men into this kingdom.

But this proviſion was by no means thought adequate to the preſſing neceſſities of Ireland. At a time when this country was one general ſcene of inſurrrection, Elizabeth received intelligence from the king of Scots, that Philip of Spain was preparing for a powerful invaſion of her dominions; that forty thouſand men were raiſed for a deſcent on England, as was ſuppoſed; and twelve thouſand deſtined for the ſupport of her rebellious ſubjects in Ireland. The preſervation of this kingdom was now become an object of the moſt ſerious attention in her councils; and it was unanimouſly agreed, that nothing but a formidable army, and an experienced general, could ſave the realm of Ireland from becoming an acquiſition to the crown of Spain.

The carl of Eſſex had been for ſome time the great favourite of Elizabeth; and though he had lately provoked her by the unguarded haughtineſs of his behaviour, and paſſionately expreſſed his reſentment at a mark which he had received of the queen's indignation, yet was he reſtored to grace. The death of lord Burleigh left him without any rival in her confidence; though ſtill expoſed to the envy of aſpiring courtiers, who interpreted all his actions with a ſecret malignity. On the preſent deliberations about the affairs of Ireland, he repreſented that the military command in that country required a brave and ſkilful general, one of weight and dignity, one known to poſſeſs the confidence of his royal miſtreſs, who muſt there ſtand ſuperior to the intrigues of faction. So diſtinctly did he mark out his own character, that his deſire of being inveſted with the government of Ireland could not be miſtaken; and both his friends and enemies concurred in rendering his deſire effectual, though the queen had before propoſed to commit the government of Ireland to Blount lord Mountjoy. Eſſex was therefore appointed to the command, with the title of lord-lieutenant, and with more extenſive power than almoſt any governor had before enjoyed. Beſide an extraordinary authority of pardoning all treaſons, even ſuch as touched the queen's perſon; of removing officers, and conferring dignities, he was left to conduct the war at his own diſcretion, and furniſhed with an army of twenty thouſand men: ſuch a force as had not yet been ſent into Ireland, and ſuch as thoſe who were ſtrangers to this country conceived to be irreſiſtible.

The Iriſh inſurgents ſeemed not to be diſmayed by this formidable preparation. On Eſſex's arrival in Ireland,

land, the earl of Tirone, who had called a council of war, determined to oppose the queen's forces in the North with a body of six thousand men; while O'Donnel, with four thousand, was to carry on the war in Connaught. The rebels of Munster had solemnly bound themselves by an oath to be faithful to their cause. Not one of the insurgents, as was usual at the appearance of great military preparations, deigned to submit and sue for pardon. Even those subjects who had not yet swerved from their allegiance, were so far tainted by the artful representations of the insurgents, that they betrayed manifest signs of reluctance to serve the queen; and several of them were known to hold correspondence with the rebels.

Essex began his administration in such a manner, as gave the strongest reason to suspect, that his object was to strengthen his own personal power and influence [a]. Contrary to the queen's directions, he made his friend, the earl of Southampton, general of horse; and in spite of her remonstrances, continued him in this command. With equal disregard to his instructions, he lavished the honour of knighthood, so highly esteemed at this time, on every person whom he thought worth purchasing to his party. He had been expressly commanded to strike directly at the northern rebels; and at the same time to plant garrisons at Loughfoyle and Ballyshannon, so as to surround them with his forces; but, in deference to the opinion of the Irish privy counsellors, he marched to the South; on his passage whither he had the mortification of being considerably harrassed by O'Moore, the chieftain of Leix. He arrived at his destination, only to lay siege to a castle belonging to lord Cahir; and by the opposition he received from the titular earl of Desmond, ten days were wasted in the reduction of it.

Meanwhile, the northern insurgents proceeded with alarming vigour. Tirone was indefatigable in confirming his adherents, and defeating every attempt to seduce them. He stationed parties at the passes of Loughfoyle and Ballyshannon, to oppose any English garrisons that might attempt to settle there. He received ammunition from Spain; and in concurrence with O'Donnel, hired a considerable body of Scottish islanders to strengthen their forces, which now amounted to nine thousand foot, and fourteen hundred horse. He lay with his main body, strongly entrenched, on an advantageous ground

[a] Camden. Moryson.

between Dundalk and Newry; declaring at once his reſolution of giving battle, and his confidence of ſucceſs. Even the rebels of Leinſter, though leſs numerous, had learned to look on their enemies without terror. About ſix hundred of the queen's forces were encountered by the ſept of O'Byrne; and inſtead of bravely defending themſelves againſt inferior numbers, were ſeized with a ſudden panic, and ſhamefully defeated. And when Eſſex returned into Leinſter with an enfeebled and diminiſhed army, he could expreſs his vexation only by decimating the unfortunate troops, caſhiering their officers, and executing the chief delinquent.

The account of his diſaſters was received with delight by his enemies in England; the ſanguine hopes which the queen had conceived of the adminiſtration of her favourite, were entirely defeated; and every artifice was uſed to exaſperate her diſappointment. The intelligence which the earl now ſent of the ſtate of Ireland, afforded the moſt melancholy proſpect. He repreſented the diſaffection as general, ariſing from an averſion both to the religion and government of England; and that, though the arms of England ſhould in the end prove ſucceſsful, the conteſt muſt be the work of great care, expence, and time.

Sir Conyers Clifford, lord preſident of Connaught, was ordered to draw his forces to Beleek, in order to make a diverſion on that ſide, while Eſſex, now reinforced with two thouſand more men from England, made his grand attack upon the rebels. Clifford accordingly marched with fifteen hundred foot, and about two hundred cavalry; but O'Ruarc, one of the rebel leaders, iſſuing ſuddenly from an ambuſh, with only two hundred men, attacked the party in a mountainous and embarraſſed ſituation, caſt them into confuſion, killed one hundred and twenty, among whom Clifford himſelf, and ſome other officers, fell at the firſt onſet. He then purſued the victory, until by the valour of the horſe he was again driven into the woods. The loſs in this encounter was of little moment, compared to the impreſſion which it made on the minds of the ſoldiery. The Engliſh levies ſhewed the utmoſt reluctance to march through a ſtrange country, where at every ſtep they were liable to be ſurpriſed by the enemy, and deſerted in conſiderable numbers; while the Iriſh loyaliſts, deſpiſing an unſucceſsful general, united with their countrymen. Eſſex now wrote to England, that the whole number of forces under his immediate command amounted

amounted to no more than four thouſand effective men; that all his intended enterpriſes muſt neceſſarily be ſuſpended; and that for this reaſon he could but draw towards the borders of Ulſter three thouſand five hundred foot, and three hundred horſe. With this force, therefore, he marched to the northern borders. Tirone, who beſide his expectation of powerful aſſiſtance from Spain, knew that the moſt effectual means of ruining the royal army, was by protracting the war, determined to recur to his old artifices. He appeared with his forces at ſome diſtance, and ſent a meſſenger to Eſſex to deſire a parley. He was anſwered, that the lord-lieutenant ſhould meet him next morning at the head of his army. He again entreated for a conference, repeated his aſſurances that he would throw himſelf on the royal mercy, and at length obtained permiſſion to attend the earl. The place appointed for the interview was at a ford, near the principal town of the county of Louth. The earl deigned to confer for a conſiderable time with Tirone, without any witneſs of their parley. While Eſſex, with the ſtatelineſs of a ſuperior, ſtopped at the bank of the river to receive the chieftain's overtures, the latter, who had an inſinuating and flattering addreſs, plunged into the ſtream up to his very ſaddle, as if with an impatience to caſt himſelf at the feet of this illuſtrious governor. He urged his grievances with a well-diſſembled humility; and well informed of the character of Eſſex, ſeems to have led him into a confidential ſtrain of converſation, in which the lord-lieutenant incautiouſly laid open ſome of the extravagant and crude ſchemes of his ambition. When this private interview had been carried on for a conſiderable time, Eſſex at length called on Southampton, and five other principal officers, to attend him. Tirone, on his part, ſummoned his brother Cormac, and an equal number of his party.

The conference being now opened in due form, Tirone repeated the grievances which had induced the Northerns to take arms, and propoſed the conditions on which they conſented to return to their allegiance; a general amneſty, a free exerciſe of religion, the reſtoration of their lands, and an exemption from Engliſh government. Eſſex promiſed to tranſmit their deſires to the queen, and was even accuſed of promiſing to prevail on her to grant them, as highly equitable and reaſonable. Meanwhile, they agreed on a truce for ſix weeks, to be renewed from time to time for the ſame term, leaving each party at

liberty to renew the war on fourteen days previous notice: And if any of the confederate Iriſh refuſed to adhere to this agreement, Tirone engaged to leave them to be proſecuted by the lord-lieutenant at his pleaſure [b].

This accommodation, made with an enemy who had ſo often proved unfaithful, completed the mortification of the queen, and afforded ſecret triumph to the enemies of her favourite. She did not impute the diſhonourable proceedure of the earl to any deficiency of ſpirit; but dreaded ſome clandeſtine ſcheme, not yet unravelled; and in this ſhe was encouraged by thoſe who were envious of the earl's authority. Before ſhe had yet heard of the ceſſation made with the Northerns, ſhe contented herſelf with ſending the Iriſh governor and council a letter, in which ſhe enlarged on all the miſconduct of the war in ſuch terms of diſpleaſure as ſuited an offended ſovereign. Every word pierced deep into the heart of Eſſex; and as he imputed the whole to the practices of his enemies, his impatience burſt into the moſt extravagant menaces of revenge. His ſcheme, which he had entertained for ſome time, was nothing leſs than that of marching into England with the flower of his army, and executing his vengeance by force of arms; confident that his popularity would ſoon procure him many partizans, The firſt ſuſpicions of this deſign were carefully tranſmitted to the Engliſh court, by men who were purpoſely employed to watch his words and actions. A rumour, induſtriouſly propagated, that the king of Spain meditated an invaſion of England, was made a pretence for ſuddenly levying ſix thouſand men in London; of whom three thouſand were appointed to guard the queen's perſon. But intelligence leſs alarming being received from Ireland, theſe troops were ſpeedily diſbanded. The temperate counſels of the earl of Southampton, and ſir Criſtopher Blunt, had allayed the firſt fury of Eſſex's reſentment. Soon after his arrival in Ireland, he had the precaution to obtain from the queen a warrant, empowering him, at any time, to repair to England, and delegate his government to two lords-juſtices; provided that he ſhould never venture to return, until the kingdom ſhould be ſo ſettled, that no danger might ariſe from his abſence. Though the queen's laſt letter expreſly directed him to attend to the affairs of his government, he determined to avail himſelf of this warrant; a meaſure to which he

[b] Moryſon,

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was encouraged, by recollecting that the earl of Leiceſter had returned from the Low Countries contrary to command, had made his peace with the queen, and had confounded his enemies. Hoping no leſs ſucceſs, he ſuddenly departed, with a few gentlemen in his train; leaving the government to the chancellor Loftus, and ſir George Carew. He appeared at court before his intentions were ſuſpected; ruſhed through the apartments, covered with duſt and ſweat, and ſurpriſed the queen, who was newly riſen, and dreſſing in her bed-chamber, by falling on his knees before her, and kiſſing her hand. In the firſt unguarded emotions of her heart, ſhe forgot his miſconduct, and received him graciouſly. But when her pride was awaked, and her policy found leiſure to operate, ſhe changed her behaviour, and commanded him to confine himſelf to his chamber, until her farther pleaſure ſhould be known. She directed her council to examine him; and as the explanations of his conduct was by no means ſatisfactory, he was committed to the cuſtody of the lord-keeper [c].

Scarcely had the earl of Eſſex returned to England, when new ſupplies of money and ammunition arrived from Spain; accompanied with freſh aſſurances of a powerful reinforcement from that country. With theſe ſupplies arrived Don Mattheo Oviedo, a Spaniſh eccleſiaſtic, on whom the pope had conferred the title of archbiſhop of Dublin. And as a token of the affection and regard of the Roman pontiff for the prince of Ulſter, (as Tirone was called) this prelate preſented him with a hallowed plume, which the holy father gravely declared to be the feathers of a phœnix. Tirone, animated by this flattering mark of attention, declared himſelf the champion of the holy faith; and in full confidence of ſucceſs, ſoon after the expiration of the firſt period of his truce, recommenced hoſtilities. The royaliſts, who were not well prepared to oppoſe him, expoſtulated on this violation of his treaty. He coldly replied, that he had given the neceſſary notification of his intentions; and could not recal them, as his confederates had been diſpatched into different quarters of the kingdom to renew the war [d]. The earl of Ormond, who had been again appointed lord-lieutenant of the army, now proceeded againſt the northern inſurgents with ſuch forces as he could collect; when Tirone again deemed it expedient to parley; and

[c] Uſher. [d] Moryſon.

after ſome arrogant menaces, which were retorted with due ſpirit, to renew the ceſſation for a month. This interval the rebel lord left not unimproved. He publiſhed a manifeſto, addreſſed to all his countrymen, exhorting them to forſake the ſhameful cauſe of hereſy; to unite with him in defence of the liberty of their country, and chiefly of the catholic religion, for which he principally contended, and the ſacred intereſts of which, no perſonal advantage ſhould ever prevail upon him to abandon. To impreſs the populace with an idea of his extraordinary piety, and at the ſame time to gain an opportunity of concerting meaſures with his ſouthern aſſociates, he affected to make a pilgrimage to the holy croſs of Tipperary.

While the inſurgents were preparing vigorouſly for renewing the war, the only hope which the royaliſts had at preſent, was from acting on the defenſive. Ormond was indefatigable in ſtrengthening and ſupplying the forts and garriſons, and collecting the forces from the Pale. He repreſented to the Engliſh miniſtry the dangers and apprehenſions of thoſe who were well affected to the government; and earneſtly entreated, that ſome effectual proviſions ſhould be made for their protection, before the rebels might be enabled to break into the Pale, and overwhelm them. At the ſame time, on the expiration of the truce, he marched into Munſter, and by his activity not only foiled ſome attempts of Tirone, but gained ſome advantage over his confederates.

A D. 1600. In this ſituation of affairs, lord Mountjoy was appointed by the queen lord-deputy of Ireland, and aſſumed the reins of government. So mean was the opinion formed of his military capacity by the Iriſh, who miſtook the refinement of his manners for effeminacy, that Tirone exulted in the choice which the queen had made of a commander. Elizabeth herſelf ſeems to have entruſted him with this charge, not without ſome diffidence; for the earl of Ormond was continued lord-lieutenant of the army; and her principal reliance ſeems to have been placed on this nobleman, and on the abilities and experience of ſir George Carew, whom ſhe appointed lord-preſident of Munſter. The inſtructions which Mountjoy received, were the ſame which Eſſex had fatally neglected; to plant ſtrong garriſons at Loughfoyle and Ballyſhannon, ſo as at any time to iſſue from theſe quarters upon the Ulſter rebels: to ſtation others at Armagh, Blackwater, and ſuch other quarters as might check their irruptions

irruptions into the Pale; and by thus encompaſſing the Northerns, either to confine them at home, and to cut off their ſupplies; or, if they ſhould break into other diſtricts, to have their lands and effects at the mercy of the queen's troops.

But the very day after his arrival, intelligence was received from Ormond, that Tirone lay with a conſiderable force in the weſtern part of Munſter; that the troops of the earls of Thomond and Clanricard, thoſe of the commiſſioners for executing the office of preſident of Munſter until the arrival of Carew, and thoſe commanded by Ormond himſelf, were ſo ſtationed, that he could not poſſibly eſcape, except by the weſtern borders of the Pale; ſo that if the deputy ſhould draw his forces thither, he would have a fair opportunity of intercepting, and encountering him with advantage. Mountjoy, in conſequence of theſe advices, marched to Molingar, where, after expecting the enemy for ſome time, and being amuſed with various reports, he at length learned, that Tirone had contrived to paſs the river Inny, and fled into the North with ſuch precipitation, as plainly ſhewed his terror of the royaliſts. An eſcape ſo unexpected naturally raiſed ſuſpicions in the mind of a new chief governor, of ſome neglect, if not of ſome treachery, in thoſe who were to watch his motions. It was reported that Tirone had practiſed with the earl of Clanricard in particular; and that the latter waited only the return of his ſon, lord Dunkellin, from England, to declare openly for the rebels. But an unexpected incident ſerved to fix ſuſpicions upon a character of ſtill greater conſequence.

On the departure of ſir George Carew for his government of Munſter, he was received at Kilkenny by the earl of Ormond, who informed him that he was the next morning to hold a parley with O'Moore, the principal rebel of Leinſter; inviting him and the earl of Thomond, his companion, to attend the conference. They accepted the offer, adviſing the earl, that his own troop of two hundred horſe, joined by that of one hundred, which was in the preſident's train, ſhould attend them as a guard. Ormond ſlightly anſwered, that the precaution was unneceſſary, and even commanded his own troop to halt within two miles of the appointed place of meeting, advancing only with ſeventeen armed men; while O'Moore awaited him with a complete band of pikemen, leaving his main body, conſiſting of five hundred foot and twenty horſe, in an adjacent wood, ready to ruſh out at his command.

Carew, who diſliked the ſituation of the places, as well as the circumſtances and the behaviour of the enemy, preſſed the earl of Ormond to retire. But in a long and fruitleſs conference with O'Moore, he demanded to ſpeak with one Archer, a Jeſuit, noted as a great incendiary. During his interview with this perſon, the rebel troop gradually advanced, ſurrounded his company, and at length ſeized the earl. Carew and Thomond ſpurred forward, and burſt through them, ſo as, with ſome danger and difficulty, to effect their eſcape. Ormond remained their priſoner; nor could his troop be perſuaded to attempt his reſcue[e].

This incautious behaviour of Ormond, who had uſually acted with circumſpection, naturally excited in the friends of government a ſuſpicion that he had formed a clandeſtine ſcheme of delivering himſelf into the hands of the rebels. Mountjoy, who perhaps was not diſſatisfied at the removal of a man who rivalled him in authority, affected to treat this incident with indifference. He ſoon received from O'Moore the terms on which the earl's liberty was to be purchaſed. Theſe were, that her majeſty's garriſons were to be removed from his territory of Leix, and ſufficient ſecurities given that none others ſhould be planted there; that if ſuch ſecurities ſhould be denied, then the garriſons of O'Fally alſo ſhould be removed; that O'Moore and his followers ſhould be received into protection for ſix weeks; in which interval no forces ſhould be ſent againſt their confederates of Ulſter. Mountjoy rejected their inſolent overtures with a ſilent diſdain, and proceeded in his military operations.

Mountjoy's firſt care was to ſend detachments to different quarters, to keep the northern rebels in awe, and confine them to their own territory; to ſtation four thouſand men at Loughfoyle; to provide for the ſecurity of Leinſter; and to ſend ſupplies to the Engliſh garriſons of Leix and O'Fally, which he effected, in ſpite of the boaſted oppoſition of O'Moore. He then marched northwards, where he found Tirone entrenched between Newry and Armagh, and prepared to diſpute his paſſage. He attacked the Northerns vigorouſly; and after ſome reſiſtance, drove them to their woods. At the ſame time intelligence was received, that ſir Henry Dowkra, who commanded the detachment of Loughfoyle, had made good his landing, and was employed in fortifying the city of Derry [f].

[e] Sullivan, Moryſon. [f] Ibid.

Theſe

Theſe diſaſters made a great impreſſion upon the fickleneſs of the Iriſh: numbers of them deſerted to Dowkra; and ſome of their principal partizans applied to the lord-deputy for pardon and protection. Sir Arthur O'Nial, ſon of the late Tirlaugh Lynnogh, made overtures of ſubmiſſion, hoping to be inveſted with the title and eſtate of Tirone. One of the O'Donnels ſtipulated for the chieftainry of Tir-Connel, as the price of his deſertion. And though the demands of all were not granted in their full extent, yet by ſome conceſſions, and aſſurances of farther favour, ſuch men were retained in a dependance on the government.

Mountjoy had not been long in the northern borders, when he was again called into Leinſter, by the inſolence of the rebellious ſepts of this province. Here alſo the well-affected were encouraged, and the inſurgents confounded, by his ſucceſsful excurſions. He purſued Tirrel and O'Moore in their retreats in Leix, where in a bold attack upon the Engliſh forces, the latter of theſe chieftains was killed. The Leinſter rebels, by driving the royaliſts into their fortified towns, and living without moleſtation, had cultivated their lands, and eſtabliſhed in their diſtricts an unuſual degree of proſperity. But now they were expoſed to unmerciful havock, from the queen's forces. The ſoldiers, encouraged by the example of their officers, every where cut down the ſtanding corn with their ſwords, and left no means undeviſed to deprive the wretched inhabitants of all the neceſſaries of life, as famine was judged the ſpeedieſt and moſt effectual means of reducing them [g].

The ſame melancholy expedient was practiſed in the northern provinces. All the Engliſh garriſons were daily employed in pillaging and waſting; while Tirone, with his diſpirited army, ſhrunk gradually within narrower bounds. They were effectually prevented from ſowing and cultivating their lands; and at the approach of winter, the deputy again appeared on their borders. He again drove Tirone from his intrenchments, and demoliſhed his works. The want of neceſſaries having driven the Engliſh garriſon from Armagh, and made it impracticable to maintain this poſt, in a waſted country; he therefore, eight miles diſtant from this town, erected a new fort, which he called Mount-Norris, in honour of the late general of that name. During the progreſs of

g Sullivan. Moryſon.

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the work, he attempted every day to interrupt him by his vigour and prudent diſpoſitions. The laſt effort made by Tirone was to oppoſe his return by Carlingford; but here alſo he was bravely repelled with conſiderable loſs: ſo that the reputation of this chieftain, ſo long the idol of his barbarous countrymen, was utterly overthrown; and his followers, in all quarters, flying from the miſeries of war, ſued to government for pardon and protection.

The expences of maintaining the Iriſh war had gradually encreaſed to the annual amount of four or five hundred thouſand pounds: and it was found, that by the regular payment of the army in ſterling money, England had been drained of an alarming quantity; of which a conſiderable part, either by inroads and plunder, or by traffic for proviſions, and other ways of commerce, fell into the hands of Tirone and his aſſociates; who were thereby enabled to procure from the continent a regular ſupply of arms, ammunition, and proviſions, ſo as to maintain the war againſt the queen with her own treaſure [h]. To remedy this inconvenience, and at the ſame time to leſſen the burden of ſupporting the royal army, the queen was perſuaded to order a baſe coin to be ſent into Ireland, and there to be taken as ſterling money; ſtrictly prohibiting the importation of any other ſpecies into that kingdom, and decrying thoſe already current. This ſcheme ſerved to encreaſe the diſtreſſes of the rebels, to whom, in the purchaſe of proviſions from foreign countries, it would not paſs above its intrinſic value. But as traders took care, in conſequence of this coinage, to raiſe the prices of all commodities exceedingly, and as great quantities of ſpurious coinage were made by rebels and ſtrangers, the exchange ſoon failed, and great murmurs took place among the ſoldiers.

At the firſt intimation of this meaſure, Mountjoy, who juſtly apprehended that ſo conſiderable a defalcation of their pay might provoke the army to an immediate mutiny, reſolved to keep them buſily employed. For this purpoſe he marched to the northern borders, where he ſupplied and reinforced his garriſons, received the ſubmiſſions of thoſe rebels who returned to their allegiance; and, without engaging in any important enterpriſe, kept Tirone in perpetual alarm, and harraſſed him in ſeveral ſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes [i]. But new incidents ſoon called

[h] Pacat. Hib. [i] Moryſon.

him into the ſouthern province, which now became the principal ſeat of war.

When ſir George Carew entered on the preſidency of this part of Ireland, he was furniſhed with three thouſand foot, and two hundred and fifty horſe, for the whole ſervice of his province; a force utterly incapable of making the ſlighteſt reſiſtance to the rebels, if theſe had been united into one body. But their numbers, however formidable in appearance, were made up of various bodies, under the direction of ſeparate and independent leaders, each ſeeking his own private emolument, divided with jealouſies, reſtrained by no ſuperior authority, and but weakly influenced by any common principle, national or religious. Carew ſtationed himſelf at Cork, where ſtudying the characters and different intereſts of his enemies, he was ſoon convinced that the moſt effectual means of ſubduing muſt be to diſunite them, by mutual jealouſies and ſuſpicions. He began by alarming them with rumours and excurſions ſpeedily to be made from his head quarters, which muſt ravage the adjacent country. The chieftains of theſe diſtricts were terrified, and ſubmitted to the royal mercy. Florence Mac-Arthy, with ſome difficulty, conſented to a neutrality; which, though not expected to be permanent, was uſeful on the preſent occaſion. The principal leaders whom Carew had now to deal with, were the titular earl of Deſmond, who commanded the provincial troops, and O'Connor, chief leader of the mercenaries. It was in vain to practiſe with the former, as he was determined not to relinquiſh his claims to the honours and eſtate of Deſmond, and the queen equally determined not to grant them. But O'Connor was a ſoldier of fortune, ready to engage with any party, which tended moſt to his advantage. He had married the daughter of the late earl of Deſmond; an alliance which, by the honour it conferred upon him, put him entirely under the influence of his wife. This lady, who, by an Engliſh education, contracted an affection for the Engliſh government, and was particularly ſolicitous for the intereſt of her brother, naturally hated the uſurper of his title, and prevailed upon her huſband, for a ſum of money, to form a ſcheme for delivering the titular earl into the hands of the lord-preſident. To promote the ſucceſs of this plot, all the motions of Carew were directed, and Connor was actually ſeized; but before Carew could receive him, he was reſcued by a ſtrong party of the inſurgents.

Carew,

Carew, at the ſame time that he condeſcended to theſe methods of making war, proceeded boldly in his military operations. He took the chief caſtle of the knight of the Valley, in ſpite of a vigorous defence, and engaged in other exploits of the ſame kind, even while the enemy was in view [k]. He penetrated into Kerry, where he took the caſtle of the lord of Lixnaw, who died of grief at this mortification, leaving a ſon no leſs determined in his enmity to the Engliſh, though for the preſent obliged to ſubmit, and ſue for the protection of government. His excurſions were attended with the moſt diſmal havock, through all the diſaffected country. Numbers of the moſt deſperate rebels relented at the proſpect of deſolation and famine; and theſe champions of the faith applied to the court of Rome, to be abſolved from the ſin of ſubmitting to a heretical government, and to be permitted to continue in a temporal obedience to the ſtate.

Such was the ſituation of the ſouthern province, when aſſurances were ſpread through Ireland, that the Spaniſh ſuccours ſo long expected by the malcontents, were ſpeedily to embark; and that Munſter was to be the ſcene of their invaſion. O'Nial, who at the ſame time received a flattering letter from the pope, renewed his exertions with freſh vigour, and diſpatched his emiſſaries to the diſaffected lords in every province, exhorting them to prepare for the reception of their foreign allies, and now, if ever, to exert themſelves againſt the pagan beaſt, (for ſuch was the language of one of his intercepted letters). The deſigns of Spain in ſupport of the Iriſh inſurgents, which the queen's miniſters had ſo long affected to diſbelieve, became at length but too apparent; for intelligence was received that their fleet, conſiſting of fifty ſail, ſeventeen of which were ſhips of war, were diſcovered to the north of Cape Finiſterre, ſteering their courſe to the coaſt of Ireland. On the firſt aſſurance of their embarkation, two thouſand troops were ſent from England, and three thouſand more prepared for the ſervice of Munſter. Carew had ever reſolved to maintain the city of Cork, againſt the invaders; and now received intelligence from ſir Charles Wilmot, who commanded the city in his abſence, that the Spaniſh fleet appeared before the mouth of the harbour. Another expreſs informed him, that on the ſlackening of the wind, the

[k] Moryſon.

fleet

fleet had tacked about, and were now anchored in the harbour of Kinsale. In consequence of this intelligence, which Carew communicated to the lord-deputy, the latter proceeded to Cork, as if fully prepared to meet the invaders.

While one part of the Spanish forces was driven by storm into Baltimore, the main body, commanded by don Juan d'Aquila, general of the expedition, entered Kinsale without resistance, the small English garrison retiring at thier approach [s]. Dispatches were immediately sent into the North to notify their arrival; and to press Tirone and O'Donnel, the two leaders who invited them into Ireland, to march without delay to join their allies. Oviedo and other ecclesiastics attended them, to shake the allegiance of the people by their exhortations and spiritual censures. But, in spite of all their efforts, the provincials of Munster were so reluctant to engage in fresh hostilities, that on the arrival of the lord-deputy at Cork, several of their chieftains presented themselves before him, with the strongest assurances of their loyalty; while others seemed to wait the uncertain event of war, in a state of neutrality. The Spaniards, who had come with the vain hopes of meeting a whole kingdom at their devotion, now found themselves confined within an inconsiderable town, unassisted by the natives, and besieged by the queen's forces. Sallies were frequently made, sustained, and repelled with due vigour. The castle of Kincorran, situated upon the river of Kinsale, without half a mile of the town, convenient for annoying the English shipping, and which the Spaniards, therefore, had been careful to occupy, was violently assaulted, and after an obstinate defence, at length surrendered to the lord-deputy.

The approaches of the besiegers were every day advanced, when intelligence arrived that the northern forces were in full march to join the invaders; that O'Donnel, with an army of followers from Connaught and Leinster, had already penetrated into the territories of Ormond; and was followed by Tirone, with the flower of his Ulster forces. It was instantly resolved to divide the royal army; and while the deputy with one part continued the siege, that the lord-president of Munster should, with another body, march against the chieftain of Tyrconnel. Carew engaged in this service contrary to his own senti-

[s] Pacat. Hib.

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ments. Though he preſſed cloſely upon the rebels, yet, as he had foreſeen, no intelligence of their ſituation or motions could be obtained from a country too well-affected to their cauſe. They kept themſelves ſecure in woods and moraſſes, until, gaining the advantage of a ſevere froſt, they marched rapidly over a mountain, otherwiſe impaſſable, and penetrated into Munſter, leaving the lord-preſident to return to Kinſale, from a fruitleſs and harraſſing expedition.

To conſole the lord-deputy for this diſappointment, ſir Chriſtopher St. Lawrence came to his aſſiſtance with ſome forces of the Pale; the earl of Clanricard arrived at the head of a gallant troop; the earl of Thomond, another zealous royaliſt, who had been ſent into England, returned with one thouſand men; two thouſand infantry and ſome cavalry landed at Waterford; ſir Richard Leviſton, one of the queen's admirals, arrived at Cork with ten ſhips of war, two thouſand infantry, and military ſtores. Notwithſtanding theſe reinforcements, it was ſtill reſolved not to attempt the town by ſtorm, until the enemy ſhould be weakened by ſword or ſickneſs. Caſtlepark, another adjacent fort, was attacked and ſurrendered. The beſiegers continued to advance in their approaches, and defeated every attempt of the Spaniards to diſtreſs them [m].

Hitherto the provincials of Munſter, who had lately ſubmitted and received their pardons, looked on the contending parties without interfering. But ſix Spaniſh ſhips now arrived at Caſtlehaven, and landed troops, ſaid to amount to two thouſand, with ſtores, ordnance, and ammunition. Six other veſſels, they declared, had ſailed with them from the Groyne, but had been ſeparated by a ſtorm; and that a farther embarkation was preparing, as the king of Spain determined to ſupport the Iriſh war with the utmoſt vigour. O'Donnel inſtantly united with theſe new invaders; Tirone had penetrated into Munſter, and was at hand. The diſaffected ſepts conceived that the period of their being delivered from the Engliſh power was at length arrived: they at once caſt off the maſk of ſubmiſſion; all the Iriſh, and ſeveral of the Engliſh race in Kerry and Deſmond, all from Kinſale and Limerick weſtward, declared for the invaders. O'Driſcal, lord of a fort at Caſtlehaven, which commanded the harbour, delivered it to his foreign allies. Another of his race put them in poſſeſſion of his caſtles at Baltimore, and

[m] Ware.

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the iſland of Inniſherken. Daniel O'Sullivan, with the ſame zeal, reſigned into their hands his fort of Dunboy, a poſt of conſiderable ſtrength, which commanded Berehaven. D'Aquila, by his new reinforcement, was enabled to place garriſons in theſe ſeveral ſtations; his gold was laviſhed among the revolters; their principals were honoured with commiſſions from the king of Spain, and their followers taken into his pay. Admiral Leviſton, who was ſent to Caſtlehaven, after ſinking and deſtroying ſome of the Spaniſh veſſels, was by contrary winds expoſed to a battery erected by the enemy on ſhore, and which did ſo much execution that he was obliged to return to Kinſale in a ſhattered ſtate.

To increaſe the diſtreſs of the beſiegers, the northern army, commanded by Tirone, now lay at ſix miles diſtance from their camp, and cut off all intercourſe with Cork. Surrounded by their enemies, they were prevented from foraging; while their men, weakened with hunger, and harraſſed by the toils of a winter-ſiege, dropt dead even upon their poſts. Numbers deſerted, and their Engliſh ſupplies came in ſcantily and ſlowly. In theſe circumſtances, nothing was neceſſary for the complete deſtruction of this little army, but for the inſurgents to continue obſtinately in their preſent ſituation. Tirone ſeems to have been ſenſible of this; and is ſaid to have declared loudly againſt the chance of battle. But don Juan, more captivated with the brilliant proſpect of victory, ſent the moſt preſſing inſtances both to Tirone and O'Donnel to advance againſt the enemy's camp, aſſuring them that nothing but one vigorous impreſſion was wanting to effect the deſtruction of the enemy. Several of the Iriſh chieftains eagerly embraced the ſame ſentiments; and Tirone, impelled by their united counſels, advanced reluctantly againſt the Engliſh camp.

While the preſident was appointed to conduct the ſiege, the lord-deputy, with no more than twelve hundred foot, and four hundred horſe, marched againſt the rebels; and as the Spaniards, not ſuſpecting that their beſiegers would make this bold attempt, kept within their walls, the Engliſh had but one enemy to encounter. All the avenues to the town were occupied by ſtrong guards; and ſo alarmed were the enemy at the diſpoſitions made by the lord-deputy, and ſo diffident of their own ſtrength, that the confederate Iriſh, who, as they advanced, had conſidered only how they ſhould diſpoſe of their priſoners, retired with evident diſmay at the firſt appearance of the

Engliſh

Engliſh forces. They were purſued, halted, and offered battle; the earl of Clanricard, and Wingfield, marſhal of the army, charged their horſe vigorouſly; and, after a ſhort reſiſtance, the body which covered their retreat, and was compoſed of northern chieftains and other Iriſh of note, took to flight, to the amazement and terror of their aſſociates. The vanguard, commanded by Tyrrel, made ſome reſiſtance, but was alſo ſoon broken and put to flight, leaving the Spaniards of Caſtlehaven to the mercy of the Engliſh. The foreigners, after ſome ineffectual oppoſition, fell bravely in the field, except a few, who, with their general, Ocampo, were made priſoners. The main body, commanded by Tirone, was diſcomfited with equal eaſe; and the rear, in which O'Donnel was ſtationed, fled without attempting a ſingle blow. Twelve hundred of the enemy were wounded, with no greater loſs on the part of the Engliſh, than that of one cornet killed, and a few ſoldiers wounded [n].

By this victory, obtained with ſuch aſtoniſhing eaſe, the dreadful ſtorm which threatened the royal army was at once entirely diſſipated. O'Donnel, impatient of the firſt reverſe of fortune, fled into Spain: the Iriſh forces gradually fell away from an unſucceſsful leader; and Tirone, ſtung with diſappointment and diſgrace, fled with the wretched remains of his followers, and concealed himſelf in his own territory. The Spaniſh general, don Juan, not entertaining the leaſt ſuſpicion that Tirone could be ſo eaſily defeated, miſtook the volleys which the Engliſh diſcharged in honour of their victory, for the ſignal of the Iriſh army's approach, and ſallied from the town; but ſoon perceiving the Spaniſh colours taken, and finding the beſiegers fully prepared to receive him, he retired. When informed of the circumſtances of the rout, he could impute a flight ſo precipitate from ſuch inferior numbers, and preceded by an evident reluctance to engage, to no other cauſe but ſome ſecret treachery in Tirone or his aſſociates. In the rage of indignation and reſentment, he deſired a parley with the lord-deputy, and demanded that ſome gentlemen ſhould be ſent to him, whom he would acquaint with the conditions on which the town ſhould be ſurrendered. A capitulation at length took place, by which the town of Kinſale was delivered up to the deputy: Caſtlehaven, after ſome ineffectual oppoſition from the Iriſh chieftain O'Driſcal, was alſo ſur-

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[n] Ware.

rendered

rendered: and Baltimore, with other posts occupied by the Spaniards, were ceded in due form. But when Dunboy, the fort of Berehaven, was on the point of being delivered, Daniel O'Sullivan, who had resigned the strong post into the hands of the Spaniards, provoked at their capitulation, and disdaining to acknowlege their right to divest him of his ancient property, surprised the fort, disarmed the Spanish garrison, and seizing their ordnance and stores, resolved to defend it against the English. Don Juan, whose delicate sense of honour was shocked at this obstruction to the fulfilling of his engagement, offered his service to reduce Dunboy before his departure; but was told that the queen's forces would take care to chastise the rebels. For this purpose Carew conveyed troops and ammunition thither by sea. Tyrrel and O'Sullivan attempted to oppose this bold enterprize, but were put to flight. The castle was furiously assaulted, and defended with vigour by men stimulated even to enthusiasm by the exhortations of their priests, and conscious of the severe treatment to which they would be exposed from the besiegers. When the English had gained the upper part by storm, the rebels continued to make an obstinate resistance from the lower chambers; and the governor, Magaghaghan, when mortally wounded, made a desperate effort to set fire to some barrels of powder, and at one blow to destroy both friends and enemies. But the horrible attempt was defeated, and the castle was demolished by the assailants.

Notwithstanding the repeated successes of the royalists, and the dreadful calamities sustained by the insurgents, the spirit of disaffection was industriously kept alive in Munster by the rumours of a new Spanish invasion, which were propagated by a few Romish priests, who thundered out their excommunications against all those who took arms in defence of heresy, and against those who should show mercy to such as were taken fighting on the side of the English government. The mutual rancour of the opposite parties was exercised in a series of barbarous executions, until at length the rebels, foiled and confounded by the judicious dispositions of Carew, either sought the mercy of the government, or endeavoured to fly from their distresses into other parts of Ireland: and the gradual reduction of every leader of the rebellion brought the province to that state of composure, which gave the wretched inhabitants leisure to reflect on their calamities[*].

[*] Pacat. Hibernia.

The same vigour was exerted against Tirone and the northern rebels by the lord-deputy. So closely was the earl pursued that he set fire to his town of Dungannon; while his adversary, by building two new forts, excluded the chieftain from his own territories. The miseries which the wretched Irish endured, from the vicinity of the royal forces, which prevented them from seeking any means of subsistence, were such as drew compassion even from the enemy. Thousands perished by famine; and every road and district was encumbered with their unburied carcases[q]. The hideous resources fought for allaying the rage of hunger were more terrible even than such desolation. In this extremity of distress, Tirone, whose adherents were every day diminishing, made overtures of accommodation, with a sincerity to which he had hitherto been a stranger. The expence and tediousness of the war, and the fear of another invasion from Spain, determined Mountjoy to listen to those overtures with favour. But the queen positively discharged him from receiving Tirone upon any other conditions than an absolute submission to her mercy in all things, except his life; and even this concession she afterwards retracted, in peevish opposition to the sentiments of her council. The manner in which this arch-rebel should be treated, became a matter of debate in the English cabinet; and on this subject the queen's resolutions appear to have greatly fluctuated. In contradiction to her former orders, she directed Mountjoy to grant the earl a promise of life: in a few days after she enlarged her commission, and directed that he should be assured of life, liberty, and pardon. Another letter, almost at the same time, from the secretary, instructed him to grant the earl pardon, either by the title of baron of Dungannon, or by some new title. While Mountjoy was distracted by this variety of instructions, he received alarming intimations of the queen's sickness, which were quickly followed by private assurances of her death. This event, if once divulged, he knew must prove of dangerous consequence in supporting among them the spirit of revolt; for which reason he determined to cut off all delays, and to conclude an accommodation with Tirone, by virtue of the queen's commission, without attending to any subsequent instructions. Sir William Godolphin was dispatched to the earl with a safe-conduct, and pressed him, as he regarded his dearest interests, to repair immediately to the lord-deputy, and to accept of those honour-

[q] Morison.

able

able conditions which that nobleman was now empowered to grant, but which might immediately be revoked. The chieftain, in his former pride, would have considered such advances as an indication of the weakness and apprehensions of the government, and rejected them with contempt; but he was now reduced to a state of real humiliation. Instantly complying, he set out to attend the lord-deputy, who, at Mellifont, received him with a dignity becoming the representative of an offended sovereign. Tirone fell upon his knees, and petitioned for mercy with an air and aspect of distress. He subscribed his submission, which was conceived in the amplest form. He implored the queen's gracious commiseration; humbly suing to be restored to his dignity and the state of a subject, which he had so justly forfeited. He utterly renounced the name of O'Nial, with all its honourable distinctions and pretended authority; abjured all foreign power, and all dependency but on the crown of England; and promised to assist the government in abolishing all barbarous customs, and establishing law and civility among his people. The lord-deputy, on the part of the queen, promised a full pardon to him and all his followers; to himself, the restoration of his blood and honour, with a new patent for his lands, except some portions reserved for certain chiefrains received into favour, and some for the use of English garrisons; to which reservations the earl readily consented. This accommodation being concluded, Tirone accompanied the lord-deputy to Dublin; where, on hearing of the death of the queen, he was observed to burst into a flood of tears. He pretended that his emotion arose from the affection which he entertained for a princess, who had treated him with such unmerited clemency. But it was obvious that this passion really proceeded from a sense of his precipitate submission; when, by persevering but a few days, his reputation with his countrymen might have been inviolate, and the war renewed with considerable advantage; or, at worst, he might have made a merit with the new sovereign, that immediately on his accession he had freely submitted to mercy. As it was now impossible to recede, he renewed his submission, in the form before prescribed, to the king. No insurgent remained in the kingdom, who had not obtained or sued for mercy. Many were driven by necessity to the continent, and earned a subsistence in the armies of Spain, where they continued to maintain a malignant resentment against the English[1].

[1] Sulliv.

CHAP. V.

From the Accession of James to the English Crown, to the Battle of Kilrush, in the Reign of Charles I.

A.D. 1603. James I.

THUS, after a perpetual contest of four hundred and forty years, the enemies of the English crown were entirely subdued in this island. But there yet remained for some future sovereign the nobler work of establishing the authority of laws, in a country so long cut off by civil discord from the most valuable advantages of society. It was still, however, the misfortune of Ireland to be infested by the emissaries of Rome; who, on the accession of James, in many places encouraged their votaries, by assuring them that the new king was of the catholic religion. Such were the effects of these pestilent insinuations, that several cities of Leinster, and almost all those of Munster, now conspired to avow their contempt of penal statutes, and to restore the Romish worship in its full splendor. In Cork, the factious ecclesiastics were particularly numerous and turbulent. Their magistrates at first refused to proclaim the king; but not daring to persevere in this insolent opposition to authority, they at length published the proclamation of their liberties; and at the same time that they notified this event to the lord-deputy, they demanded that Halbowling, a fort built in the late reign to protect the city against invasion, should be delivered into the hands of their corporation. The commissioners for executing the presidency of Munster on the departure of sir George Carew, and the officers of the army, were justly alarmed at their extravagances, and determined to strengthen every post in the neighbourhood of Cork, by which the seditious inhabitants might be kept in awe; a measure which was not effected without opposition and some bloodshed [m].

This seditious spirit, so generally diffused through the cities of the South, was particularly embarrassing, at a time when the calamities which war and devastation had produced, required the whole attention of the government. Mountjoy soon determined to march into Munster at the head of the royal army. At Waterford he found the gates shut against him; the citizens pleading, that, by a charter from king John, they were exempt from quartering soldiers. Two ecclesiastics, in the habits of their

[m] Ware.

order

order, and with the cross erected, presented themselves before the lord-deputy in his camp, and insolently declared, that the citizens of Waterford could not in conscience obey any prince that persecuted the catholic faith. But this expedient having no effect in altering the resolution of the deputy, he threatened, that, if the inhabitants proved refractory, he would level the city with the ground. In consequence of this declaration, he was immediately admitted; the inhabitants at once swore allegiance, and renounced all foreign jurisdiction; and a strong garrison was stationed in the city, to retain them in subjection. Cashel, Clonmel, Limerick, and other cities, which had declared for the free exercise of popery, were intimidated by the vigour of Mountjoy, and reduced to the same compliances. Corke had been actually invested by the southern forces as a rebellious city; but on the first appearance of the lord-deputy, the gates were opened to him without stipulation.

In order to the full re-establishment of the public tranquillity, it was judged expedient to pass an act of oblivion and indemnity. All offences against the crown, and all particular trespasses between subjects, committed before the king's accession, were declared to be extinguished; and the whole body of the Irish yeomanry was received into his majesty's immediate protection, to the utter exclusion of the ancient jurisdiction of their chieftains. This salutary ordinance was the last act of Mountjoy's vigorous and successful administration. He was constituted lord-lieutenant of Ireland, but permitted to appoint sir George Carew his deputy, and returned to England, attended by the earl of Tirone, and Roderic O'Donnel, the brother and rival of Nial Garruff, whose insolence grew so offensive, that the government was inclined to favour his competitor. Both the Irish chieftains were received by the king with marks of favour. Roderic was, by the good offices of Mountjoy, created earl of Tyrconnel; and Tirone was confirmed in his honours and possessions; but such was the detestation expressed by the populace against the man, whose rebellion had proved so fatal to many of their friends, that he could not travel in security, without a powerful escort.

The government next proceeded to the extension of law, and the establishment of public justice. During the short administration of Carew, sheriffs were sent into the counties of Tyrconnel and Tirone, and itinerant judges visited the whole northern province. Sir Arthur Chichester, who succeeded to Carew, advanced the work of re- A.D. 1604.

formation yet farther. The dangerous ſept of O'Byrnes, who had for ages harraſſed even the capital by their inſurrections, he brought under due ſubjection to the government, and converted their territory into a county. He eſtabliſhed ſeſſions of juſtice in the province of Connaught [o]; and reſtored the circuit of Munſter, after a diſcontinuance of two hundred years. The old Iriſh cuſtoms of tainiſtry and gavelkind were aboliſhed by judgment in the King's Bench, and the Iriſh eſtates were made deſcendible, according to the courſe of the common law of England. In exchange for the Brehon juriſdiction, the native Iriſh were thus inveſted with all the privileges of ſubjects, and admitted to all the benefits of the Engliſh law; while inferiors were univerſally emancipated from the tyranny of barbarous chieftains.

To aſcertain the rights of individuals, and ſettle the poſſeſſions of all the inhabitants of the realm, was the next great object of the government. A commiſſion of grace, as it was called, iſſued under the great-ſeal of England, for ſecuring the ſubjects of Ireland againſt all claims of the crown. The chief governor was empowered to accept the ſurrenders of thoſe Iriſh lords who held eſtates by their old precarious tenure, and to regrant them on a more permanent ſecurity. Many embraced the opportunity of converting their preſent tenure for life, to an eſtate in fee, which deſcended to their children. No chieftainries were now granted by patent; and no pretended officers of juſtice were ſtationed in the remote parts to exerciſe an Iriſh ſeigniory over the wretched inhabitants. Every lord, by his new patent, was inveſted only with the lands found to be in his immediate poſſeſſion; and his followers were confirmed in their tenures, on condition only of paying him the annual rent at which his duties were rated, in the place of all uncertain and arbitrary exactions. Building, planting, cultivation, and univerſal improvement, were the conſequences of theſe ſalutary regulations. The trading towns and corporations through the kingdom ſoon followed the example of the land-holders; they ſurrendered their old, and accepted new charters, with ſuch regulations and privileges, as tended to keep them in ſubjection to the crown, and promote the intereſts of peace and commerce [p].

But the progreſs of theſe ſchemes of reformation were unhappily interrupted by the virulence of religious fac-

[o] Davis's Reports. [p] Ibid.

tion.

tion. Popish ecclesiastics still practised with their votaries in different quarters of the kingdom. They denounced the vengeance of their spiritual authority on all who should attend on the established worship. Abbeys and monasteries were repaired; churches were refitted and furnished for the Romish rites, which were again publicly celebrated in several parts of the realm. The popish clergy proceeded yet farther; presuming even to arraign the civil administration, and to review causes determined in the king's courts. And amidst all these excesses, they were industriously flattered in an opinion, that their new sovereign entertained a secret propensity to the catholic faith. But whatever tenderness James expressed for the religious tenets of Rome, he had a sincere abhorrence of those who maintained the supremacy of the papal jurisdiction; and whatever were his private dispositions, he was obliged to keep some terms with the puritans, who whispered their suspicions of his being popishly inclined. As he had, therefore, published a proclamation in England, commanding all Jesuits and other priests, having orders from any foreign power, to depart from the kingdom, so, by a like proclamation, was the popish clergy of Ireland commanded to depart within a limited time, unless they conformed to the laws of the land. This ordinance was intended to be executed with equal lenity in both kingdoms; but in Ireland, instead of terrifying the delinquents, it enraged them. The chief governor and council, perceiving the daring spirit of the recusants, determined to revive the penal statutes, and began by enjoining the magistrates and principal citizens of Dublin to repair to the established churches. Repeated admonitions and conferences served but to render them more obstinate. They were fined and committed to prison; when in an instant, all the old English families of the Pale took the alarm, and boldly remonstrated against the severity of these proceedings. Their remonstrance, and petition for the free exercise of religion, was presented to the council, by an unusual concourse, on the very day when intelligence was received of the gunpowder conspiracy; a circumstance which excited in the king's ministers a suspicion of some concert between the conspirators in England and the popish party of Ireland. The chief petitioners were confined in the castle of Dublin, and sir Patrick Barnewell, their great agent, was, by the king's command, sent under custody into England.

The inveteracy and inſolence of the recuſants of the Pale, as well as the aſſiduity of the popiſh emiſſaries, naturally tended to keep the government in a ſtate of perpetual alarm. A letter, dropt in the privy-council chamber, intimated a ſcheme of rebellion, formed by the earls of Tirone and Tyrconnel, with other Iriſh lords and gentlemen of the North; that they had ſolicited aſſiſtance from Spain and Bruſſels, and intended to begin the war with ſurpriſing the caſtle of Dublin, and aſſaſſinating the lord-deputy and council [s]. It is certain, that on the very firſt alarm of the government, Tirone and Tyrconnel fled to the continent, and abandoned their vaſt poſſeſſions to the diſpoſal of the crown. Nothing could be more favourable to that paſſion which James indulged for reforming Ireland, than the temerity of theſe Northerns, and their precipitate flight. The greater and moſt valuable part of Ulſter was thus relinquiſhed to his diſpoſal, and opened a fair field for the exerciſe of that policy in which he affected to excel. To take the ſpeedieſt advantage of this incident, judges were immediately diſpatched into the counties of Tirone and Tyrconnel; ſome of the conſpirators, who had been ſeized, were tried, condemned, and executed; and the two earls, with other fugitives of inferior note, were attainted according to the courſe of the common law.

But the projects of the king and his miniſters were for ſome time ſuſpended by actual inſurrections, which, being of no conſiderable importance, and eaſily ſubdued, ſerved only to confirm the ſubjection of the diſaffected inhabitants [t]. By their conſpiracies and rebellion a vaſt tract of land eſcheated to the crown, in ſix northern counties, amounting to about five hundred thouſand acres; a tract of country covered with woods, where rebels and banditti found a ſecure ſhelter, deſolated by war and famine, and deſtined to lie waſte, without the rigorous interpoſition of the government. James reſolved to diſpoſe of theſe lands in ſuch a manner, as might introduce all the happy conſequences of peace and cultivation. Senſible of the errors and miſcarriages of the plantation formed in Munſter by his predeceſſor, he proceeded with deliberation; he enquired, conſulted, and encouraged men of abilities to propoſe their plans. The man whoſe counſels were of greateſt ſervice on this occaſion, was

[s] Cox, ex MS. Lamb. [t] Ibid.

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ſir Arthur Chicheſter, now lord-deputy of Ireland. At his inſtances it was reſolved, that the perſons to whom lands were aſſigned, ſhould be either new undertakers from Great Britain, eſpecially from Scotland, where it was ſuppoſed that the inhabitants might be tempted to remove, by a ſhort and eaſy paſſage, into a country more fertile than their own; or to ſervitors, as they were called, that is, men who had for ſome time ſerved in Ireland, either in military or civil offices; or old Iriſh chieftains and inhabitants. In the laſt ſort were included even thoſe Iriſh who had engaged in the rebellion of Tirone, and ſtill harboured their ſecret diſcontents. To gain them, if poſſible, by favour and lenity, they were treated with particular indulgence. Their under-tenants and ſervants were allowed to be of their own country and religion; and while all the other planters were obliged to take the oath of ſupremacy, they were tacitly exempted. The ſervitors were allowed to take their tenants either from Ireland or Britain, ſo that no recuſants were admitted; the Britiſh undertakers were reſtricted from entertaining any but Engliſh and Scottiſh. To the Britiſh adventurers were aſſigned places of the greateſt ſtrength and command; to the ſervitors, ſtations of moſt danger and greateſt advantage to the ſervice of the crown. But as this appeared a hardſhip, they were allowed guards and entertainment, until the country ſhould be effectually planted.

By the preſent ſcheme, the lands were divided into three different proportions, the greateſt to conſiſt of two thouſand Engliſh acres, the leaſt of one thouſand, and the intermediate of fifteen hundred. The undertakers of two thouſand acres were to hold of the king in capite; thoſe of fifteen hundred by knights ſervice; and thoſe of a thouſand in common ſoccage. An annual rent from all the lands was reſerved to the crown, for every ſixty Engliſh acres, ſix ſhillings and eight pence from the Britiſh undertakers, ten ſhillings from ſervitors, and thirteen ſhillings and four pence from Iriſh natives. But for two years they were exempt from ſuch payment; except the natives, who were not ſubject to the charge of tranſportation.

But ſcarcely had the lands been allotted to the different patentees, when conſiderable portions were reclaimed by the clergy as their rightful property. So far had the northern biſhopricks been embarraſſed, both by the uſurpations of the Iriſh lords, and the claims of the patentees, that they had hardly a competent, much leſs

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an honourable provision for men of worth and learning; while the state of the parochial clergy was still more deplorable. Most of the northern churches had been either destroyed in the late wars, or fallen to ruin. The benefices were small, and either shamefully kept by the bishops, in the way of commendam or sequestration, or filled by ministers of the most despicable characters. The wretched flock was totally abandoned; and for many years divine service had not been used in any parish-church of Ulster, except in cities or great towns. To remedy these abuses, and to provide for the instruction of a people immersed in lamentable ignorance; it was ordained, that all ecclesiastical lands should be restored to their respective sees and churches; and that all lands should be deemed ecclesiastical, from which bishops had in former times received rents or pensions.

That provision might be made for the inferior clergy, the bishops were obliged to resign all their impropriations, and relinquish the tythes paid them out of parishes, to the respective incumbents, for which ample recompence was made out of the king's lands. Free-schools were also endowed in the principal towns, and considerable grants of lands conferred on the university of Dublin, with the advowson of six parochial churches, three of the largest, and three of the middle proportion, in each county.

Such was the general scheme of this famous northern plantation, so honourable to the English government, and of such importance to Ireland. The happy effects of this establishment were immediately perceived, though the execution by no means corresponded with the design. Buildings proceeded slowly; British tenants were found difficult to be procured in sufficient numbers; the old natives who were at hand offered higher rents, and were received into those districts from which it was intended to exclude them. After all, a number of loyal and industrious inhabitants was poured into the northern counties, considerable improvements were made by the planters, and many towns erected; several of which were incorporated, and obtained the right of representation in the Irish parliament.

To support the arrangements lately made, and to remove all real grievances, it was deemed necessary by the government to convene a parliament in Ireland; where, during twenty-seven years of tumult and distraction, no national assembly had been held in this kingdom. The novelty, therefore, of this design, and the nature of the

assembly

aſſembly to be convened, ſerved to awaken all the fears of the numerous party of recuſants. Many of the new boroughs being too poor to afford wages to their repreſentatives, it was readily conceived that they muſt be entirely influenced by government; and a ſuſpicion aroſe among the adherents to the ancient doctrines, that ſome additional ſeverities againſt thoſe who refuſed to abandon the Romiſh communion, ſome new penal ſtatutes, or at leaſt the revival of thoſe already enacted, were ſecretly meditated by the adminiſtration. On the firſt declaration of the royal intentions to call a parliament in Ireland, ſix lords, of diſtinguiſhed conſequence in the Pale, addreſſed a letter to the king, in which they boldly expreſſed their apprehenſions from a deſign of convening a parliament, and requeſt that the creation of boroughs might be ſuſpended. But James pronounced their petition to be raſh and inſolent; and the deputy continued to increaſe the new boroughs to the number of forty, and ſeveral were not incorporated until the writs for ſummoning a parliament had already iſſued. It was neceſſary to take every meaſure for ſtrengthening the intereſt of the Iriſh government, as the recuſants were indefatigable in forming their party. They diſpatched agents from the Pale into every province to ſupport the elections of their friends. The clergy preached the cauſe of religion, and denounced excommunication on thoſe who ſhould preſume to vote againſt the adherents to the Romiſh church. They even aſſured the vulgar that Tirone was preparing to invade the kingdom, encouraging them to ſtand firm to the faith, which ſhould ſoon prove triumphant over all its enemies. The recuſant lawyers practiſed with thoſe of better condition. Every artifice of policy and faction was employed to gain thoſe who could be of ſervice in the elections; and ſo ſucceſsful were their efforts, that moſt of the privy-counſellors, who ſtood for knights of the ſhire, were rejected, for their factious and turbulent competitors.

The recuſants now formed the moſt confident expectations of a ſuperiority in the houſe of commons[1]. Exulting in their ſucceſs, the principals of the party made their entry into Dublin with ſplendor and magnificence. As if they meditated violence, or meant to intimidate their opponents, bands of one or two hundred armed followers attended them; nor did they fail, at the ſame time, to affect alarms and apprehenſions. They objected

[1] Carte.

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to the caſtle of Dublin as the place of ſeſſion, where they were in danger of periſhing by an exploſion of the ſtores of powder; and where, as the lord-deputy's guards ſurrounded the houſe of parliament, the freedom of debate might be controuled. Their turbulence was exaſperated by diſappointment, as they had now the mortification of finding themſelves miſtaken in their numbers. Two hundred and thirty-two members had been returned: ſix were abſent; of the remainder, one hundred and twenty-five were proteſtants, and one hundred and one formed the ſtrength of the recuſant party. The upper houſe conſiſted of twenty-five temporal lords, and the ſame number of proteſtant prelates; of which number a conſiderable majority were friends to the adminiſtration. None were admitted into the houſe but the returned members, who were directed to enter without arms. The competitors for the office of ſpeaker were ſir John Davis, the Iriſh attorney-general, and ſir John Everard, a recuſant, who had been a juſtice of the King's Bench, and on reſigning this ſtation, rather than take the oaths, was indulged with a penſion. Thoſe who ſupported the latter contended, that before the election of a ſpeaker could be made, the right of electing ſhould be firſt determined. On this ſubject a violent altercation enſued; when ſir Oliver St. John, maſter of the ordnance, obſerved, that controverſies were to be decided by queſtions, and queſtions by votes; that the affirmative party uſually went out of the houſe, while the negative kept their ſeats; he therefore called on thoſe who voted for ſir John Davis, to attend him to the lobby, and was followed by the majority. The recuſant party refuſed to be numbered, and in the abſence of their opponents were readily perſuaded that as they formed the majority of legal members, they had a right to proceed to the election, while the others were withdrawn. With an unanimous clamour for Everard, they ſeated him tumultuouſly in the ſpeaker's chair. The friends of government on their return, exclaimed againſt this outrage, declared Davis duly elected, attempted to force his competitor from the chair; were violently oppoſed, and ſeated their ſpeaker in the lap of Everard. This ſcene of tumult was cloſed by a ſeceſſion of the recuſants, who obſtinately refuſed to accept ſir John Davis as their ſpeaker, or to take any ſhare in the proceedings of an aſſembly which they deemed ſo illegal and arbitrary. The recuſant lords followed the example of their brethren of the lower houſe; clamoured againſt the new corporations, affected to doubt of the lord-deputy's commiſſion to hold the parliament,

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and peremptorily refused to attend, until the controversy subsisting among the commons should be decided; desiring licence to send agents into England, to lay their grievances before the king [u].

The violence of this opposition was justly alarming to the government, at a time when the whole military force of the kingdom had been reduced to the inconsiderable number of seventeen hundred foot and two hundred horse; and the disorders of the capital seemed ripening to an insurrection. The lord-deputy wisely resolved to act with moderation: he commanded by a proclamation, and he separately summoned, the seceding lords to attend their duty. He endeavoured to remonstrate with the party, and even to entreat them to unite with the other members of each house, at least in passing an act of recognition of the king's title: he offered that all differences should be submitted to a committee chosen equally from both sides; and finding them continue obstinate, he, without attempting to imprison any of the seditious members, prorogued the parliament, that the animosities of the opposite sides might have time to be allayed.

This conduct, though the most prudent that could be adopted, yet gave offence to the Puritans, who affected to condemn him as not knowing how to govern turbulent people, or not daring to exercise his authority with the necessary vigour. The complaints of the malecontents infected even the privy-council, the members of which imputed to the lenity of the governor the strength and extravagance of the popish faction. But Chichester was the less alarmed at these complaints, as he knew, that pacific measures were most agreeable to the king.

The recusant lords and commoners, immediately on their secession, dispatched letters to the king and the English council, urging the grievance of the new boroughs, and the violence done to Everard, who, they alleged, had been chosen speaker by a majority of the members. To enforce their application, they instantly sent agents to the English court. These were chosen from among the most zealous leaders of the party; and, to defray their solicitation, a liberal contribution was raised, notwithstanding the efforts of Chichester to obstruct that measure. The agents, who were the lords Gormanston and Fermoy, sir James Gough, Hussey, Lutterel, and Talbot, departed in a kind of triumph; and the deputy was obliged, on his part, to send over the earl of Thomond, sir John Denham, chief-

[u] Davis.

juſtice of the King's Bench, and ſir Oliver St. John, to counteract their practices.

James received their complaints with ſuch temper, and profeſſions of equity as inſpired them with the utmoſt confidence of ſucceſs. They no longer confined themſelves to the late tranſactions of parliament, but preſented the king with nineteen articles of grievance, in the military and civil adminiſtration of Ireland, and entreated that his majeſty would ſend impartial commiſſioners to enquire into the ſeveral particulars. To this requeſt he condeſcended: and while the commiſſioners, attended by a party of the agents, were on their way to Dublin, ſir James Gough, who had travelled ſeparately, landed at Waterford, where he ſpread the news, that the king commanded him to aſſure the Iriſh ſubjects that they ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of religion, provided they entertained no prieſts who ſhould preach the depoſing power of the pope. The report was inſtantly conveyed to the capital, that Gough had arrived with a meſſage from the king to the lord-deputy, and Chicheſter calmly ſummoned the principal recuſants to be witneſſes of it. To his utter aſtoniſhment, Gough, who probably interpreted in too large a ſenſe ſome expreſſions of indulgence uſed by the king, declared to report the be well founded. The king had denounced a curſe on himſelf and his poſterity, if ever he ſhould grant a toleration to the papiſts; he had on particular occaſions inſtructed the members of the Iriſh government to adminiſter the oaths, and execute the penal laws; Chicheſter, therefore, had reaſon to queſtion the reality of Gough's aſſertions. He publicly reproved him for his falſhood; and to repreſs the extravagance of the recuſant-party, he yielded to the advice of the council, and committed ſir James Gough a priſoner to the caſtle of Dublin [w].

The recuſant faction expreſſed the leſs reſentment at this act of authority, as they expected ſpeedy redreſs, and they were confirmed in this opinion by the deputy's receiving a ſummons to attend the king in England; a meaſure which they confidently regarded as a prelude to his diſgrace. The adminiſtration, in the mean time, was committed to Jones, the chancellor, and marſhal Wingfield, as lords-juſtices.

James, after conſulting with Chicheſter, and receiving all the information which he could procure of the tranſ-

[w] Davis.

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actions in Ireland, at laſt admitted the recuſants to plead their cauſe before the council; and it was deliberately and patiently diſcuſſed. Of fourteen returns to parliament, of which they complained, two were found to have been illegal. Theſe were the burgeſſes of Kildare and Cavan, who, accordingly, were, for the preſent, declared incapable of ſitting. In other particulars, the allegations of the appellants were pronounced to be groundleſs. The king, in a long ſpeech, framed in his uſual manner, magnified his own equity and impartiality. He declared againſt the pride and arrogance of the recuſants firſt application to the throne; he cenſured the whole progreſs of their oppoſition in Ireland, and reproved their preſumption in queſtioning either his power to incorporate new boroughs, or his wiſdom in the choice of them; he commended the conduct of the lord-deputy, and concluded with a ſevere addreſs to the Iriſh agents.

Nothing now remained for the recuſants but to aſſemble peaceably in the parliament, which, after repeated prorogations, was at length to be convened. But, though their turbulent diſpoſition had received a check, their diſcontents were not allayed, and they exerciſed their refractory humour in endeavouring to obſtruct the national buſineſs. Happily, however, the management of Chicheſter was cautious and conciliating; and in their own party were not wanting ſome men of temper and moderation. Sir John Everard in particular, to whom they paid great deference, earneſtly recommended to his friends to concur amicably with the government, in ſuch meaſures as the intereſt of the nation and the honour of the crown required. The firſt appearance of moderation on the ſide of the recuſants, produced in the friends of government a conduct expreſſive of their complacency. Whatever laws had been projected, none were propoſed againſt the profeſſors or teachers of popery. Some lawyers, who refuſed to take the oath of ſupremacy, had been prohibited from pleading at the bar; but the commons having petitioned the deputy that they ſhould be reſtored to their practice, he returned a favourable, though not an explicit anſwer. A.D. 1614.

The two houſes joined in paſſing an act for recognizing the king's title to the crown, and another for the attainder of the earls of Tirone and Tyrconnel, ſir Cahir O'Dogherty, and ſome others. The old ſtatutes made againſt the natives of Iriſh blood, by which the Engliſh were prohibited from all commerce, marrying, or foſtering with them,

them, and directed to treat them as ſpies, whenever they preſumed to enter the Engliſh territories, with thoſe againſt calling over and marrying with the Scots, were all repealed, as the inhabitants of the kingdom were now univerſally to be taken under the king's protection. An act of general pardon and oblivion was made in confirmation of the royal edict; and the proceedings of the parliament were cloſed by a bill of ſubſidy, granting to the king, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, from every perſonal eſtate of the value of three pounds and upwards, two ſhillings and eight pence in the pound; a grant ſo bountiful, and made with ſuch alacrity, that James returned thanks in a letter addreſſed to the lord-deputy.

The protection and ſecurity granted to the old natives by thoſe acts which admitted them into the body of ſubjects, promiſed the moſt ſalutary effects; but time and attention were ſtill neceſſary for the perfect civilization of the people. Rudeneſs and ignorance continued to render them tenacious of their ancient manners; and even their lords perceived not the advantage of enjoying limited poſſeſſions, held under permanent tenures, rather than the wild magnificence of their former ſtate, in which the property ceaſed with their lives. The northerns, in particular, were ſo mortified at this change, that ſeveral of them entered into a conſpiracy to ſeize the Engliſh forts of their province, and extirpate the Britiſh planters. But the plot was diſcovered, and the principal agents were brought to condign puniſhment. Chicheſter was now created ba-
A.D.1616. ron of Belfaſt, recalled to England, and ſucceeded by ſir Oliver St. John.

The adminiſtration of the new governor was diſturbed by various clamours and diſcontents, occaſioned chiefly by the magiſtrates and officers of juſtice being ſtrictly required to take the oath of ſupremacy [p]. The city of Waterford had obſtinately choſen a ſucceſſion of recuſants for their chief magiſtrates, who all, in turn, refuſed to take this oath, and, in other particulars, diſcovered an averſion to conformity. A commiſſion therefore iſſued, to ſeize the liberties and revenues of a city ſo obnoxious to the government. This rigour failed not to bring upon the deputy great odium; but what yet more affected him was the offence which he had incautiouſly given to ſome leading members of the ſtate. They had uſurped ſome church-lands, and expected that by their power and in-

[p] Cox, ex MS. Lamb.

fluence

fluence they should be able to keep possession. St. John, however, seeing the miserable condition to which the clergy was reduced, had the fortitude to withstand these rapacious invaders of the ecclesiastical domains, and thereby provoked them to unite with his adversaries of the Romish party. They transmitted their complaints to the throne, and requested that commissioners should be appointed to inspect the state of Ireland, and the irregularities of administration. A commission for this purpose was accordingly granted; but the enemies of St. John insisting, that the expedient could have no effect while he continued in the government, lord Faulkland was nominated his successor; and, at the repeated instances of the Irish council, the deputy was obliged to resign his authority immediately to two lords-justices, who were appointed to the administration, until the new chief governor should arrive. To compensate, in some degree, these repeated mortifications of a faithful and zealous servant, the king soon after created St. John viscount Grandison, of Ireland, baron Trogose of Highworth in England, lord high-treasurer of Ireland, and privy counsellor of both kingdoms.

The recusants affected to consider the dismission of St. John as a tacit disapprobation of the severity which he had exercised against them, and therefore encouraged their party to expect henceforth greater indulgence from the government. The new deputy soon found himself a situation not more easy than that of his predecessor. The government was continually exposed to the insults of a faction, and destitute of the necessary resources. Faulkland made repeated representations of his distress to the king and his English council, to enforce the necessity of a speedy augmentation of the army; but the state of James's finances afforded little encouragement to listen to any scheme that must increase his expence. His revenue in Ireland was still considerably short of the charge of government. To supply this deficiency was a principal object of the commissioners now sent into Ireland. But, owing to their unacquaintance with the country, and the temper and circumstances of the inhabitants, the means they suggested were frequently either impracticable or dangerous. Their enquiry soon discovered the existence of many useless pensions, and appointments paid to officers of forts erected to defend the infant plantations, and which were at first intended to last only until the settlements should be completed. But this abuse they de-

ſpaired of remedying, when they found that the penſions belonged to men of the firſt conſideration in the kingdom, and whom it was, therefore, dangerous to diſpoſſeſs. Two other projects, which gave a great alarm, proved equally unſucceſsful. One related to grants of lands which the cities and corporations of Ireland had received, upon condition that they were not to be alienated, but applied to building walls and bridges, and to other public purpoſes. In ſome caſes, however, the conditions not having been complied with, it was propoſed to reſume theſe lands, and to raiſe the ſum of fifty thouſand pounds by fines on re-granting, or otherwiſe aſſigning of them. But this ſcheme was deemed, on reflexion, extremely hazardous to attempt [b].

The other project affected the inhabitants of a whole province: the land-holders of Connaught, including the county of Clare, on their compoſition made with ſir John Perrot, in the reign of Elizabeth, though they had ſurrendered their eſtates to the crown, generally had neglected to enrol their ſurrenders, and to take out their letters patent. This defect was ſupplied by king James ſome years before. Having iſſued a commiſſion to receive ſurrenders of their eſtates, he re-conveyed theſe by new patents to them and their heirs. Their ſurrenders were made, and their patents received the great-ſeal; but, by neglect of the officers, neither was enrolled in chancery, though three thouſand pounds had been diſburſed for the enrollments. Advantage was now taken of this omiſſion: their titles were pronounced defective, and their lands adjudged to be ſtill veſted in the crown. The project recommended to the king, was nothing leſs than that of eſtabliſhing an extenſive plantation in the province of Connaught, ſimilar to that of Ulſter; and, in his zeal of reformation, it was moſt favourably received. The danger attending ſuch a meaſure might be ſufficient to deter the adminiſtration, upon mature reflection, from ever attempting it; but the lords and gentlemen whoſe lands were threatened, wiſely contrived to ſuſpend the alarming project, by addreſſing themſelves to the king's neceſſities. They offered to purchaſe a new confirmation of their patents, by doubling their preſent annual compoſition; and as their tenure exempted them from ſuing out their liveries, or taking the oath of ſupremacy, they likewiſe agreed to pay a fine of ten thouſand pounds,

[b] Ware.

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computed to be as much as the king could gain by a plantation. The proposal was received with due attention; but death prevented the king from seeing it carried into effect.

The accession of a prince involved in foreign wars, and embarrassed by domestic factions, excited a universal ferment among the malecontents in Ireland. The recusants in particular regarded the situation of affairs in England as peculiarly favourable to their views. They avowed their contempt of penal statutes, and showed no great respect to the government of lord Faulkland, who was continued in his station of deputy. Their native turbulence was inflamed by the Roman pontiff. A bull of pope Urban VIII. exhorted them rather to lose their lives than to take that wicked and pestilent oath of supremacy, by which the dominion of the catholic church was wrested from the vicar of God Almighty; and such applications to their ignorance and superstition failed not of the intended effect. A.D.1625. *Charles I.*

The turbulence of the recusants, and the danger to be apprehended from their practices, were urgently represented to Charles by his Irish council; and in proportion as the apprehension prevailed, it was deemed more necessary to secure the kingdom against any attempt of foreign enemies. Charles determined that his Irish forces should be augmented to five thousand foot, and five hundred horse; but not being assisted by parliament to supply the necessary expence, he had recourse to prerogative. He ordered this army to be quartered on the different counties and towns of Ireland, which were to maintain them, in rotation, for three months at a time, with money, cloaths, and victuals. To reconcile the people to so extraordinary an imposition, letters were addressed to the several communities by his deputy, recommending a chearful submission, and promising them such favours from the crown, as should abundantly compensate for their present burden. The Irish, in consequence of these flattering promises, were induced to submit: but they were still exposed to vexatious inquisitions into the titles of their estates, and were impatient to be freed from the apprehension of litigious suits. The popish party was not more solicitous for the interests of their religion, than to extricate themselves from the hardships to which they were exposed by the penal statutes. To recommend themselves to the king, they affected an extraordinary solicitude to provide for the necessities of his Irish government. They gave lord Faulkland the strongest assurances,

that if ſome indulgence were granted to thoſe of their religion, a voluntary contribution might be obtained for the maintenance of the king's army; and thoſe of the proteſtant party, who had likewiſe particular grievances to be redreſſed, concurred in the ſame offers to the government [d].

The popiſh party, elevated with the hope of indulgence, gave looſe to their triumph; while the proteſtant clergy, on the other hand, were provoked at their inſolence, of which they ſent to England the moſt alarming repreſentations. Meanwhile the Iriſh agents continued their ſolicitations at the court of Charles, where, in ſpite of public clamour and ſuſpicion, they found a favourable reception for their overtures. They voluntarily offered a contribution of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, to be paid in three years. The offer was accepted, and inſtructions were tranſmitted to the lord-deputy to grant them thoſe conceſſions which they had ſolicited in return. Among the numerous articles of thoſe inſtructions, the moſt important were, that which ſecured to the ſubjects the peaceable enjoyment of their lands, by limiting the king's title to ſixty years; that which admitted the recuſants to ſue their liveries, and other grants, depending in the court of wards, and to practiſe in the law-courts, on taking an oath to acknowlege and defend Charles as the rightful king of the realm; and that which admitted the inhabitants of Connaught to make a new enrollment of their patents, and thus to ſecure their titles from future litigation. By other articles, proviſion was made for reſtraining the burden and oppreſſions of the ſoldiery; for preventing grants or protection to perſons obnoxious to the courts of law; for reſuming or limiting various patents of monopoly; for reſtraining the abuſe of reprieving malefactors; and for confining the execution of martial law to the times of war and rebellion. The court of wards was alſo regulated, and abridged in the exerciſe of its powers. For the better diſcharge of the paſtoral office, it was provided, that pluralities of benefices ſhould not be beſtowed upon unqualified perſons; and that incumbents ſhould be compelled to preach, or keep ſufficient curates. To give encouragement to trade, it was allowed, that ſeveral commodities might be tranſported into any of the king's dominions, or other countries in amity with him; that living cattle might be brought into any of his dominions, without

[d] Carte.

reſtraint

reſtraint or licence; and wool be tranſported into England only, paying the ordinary cuſtoms and duties. For a farther ſecurity to all proprietors, their eſtates were to be confirmed to them and their heirs by the next parliament to be held in Ireland, in which, likewiſe, to remove all jealouſies and apprehenſions, an act was to be paſſed for a general pardon.

In this capital article, however, the king's ſincerity appeared at leaſt ſuſpicious. In thoſe inſtructions, which were tranſmitted in the month of May, the king explicitly appointed the third day of the ſucceeding month of November, as the time when he intended that the Iriſh parliament ſhould meet, and lord Faulkland, without attending to any farther circumſtances of formality, iſſued writs of ſummons accordingly. The impropriety of this procedure was obvious. By the law of Poynings, a certification of cauſes and conſiderations by the lord-deputy and council of Ireland, was neceſſary before the king's licence could be obtained for holding a parliament in that kingdom. The council-board of England cenſured an omiſſion ſo eſſential; and the matter being referred to the judges, they pronounced the writs of ſummons illegal and void. Whether the irregularity was caſual or premeditated, nothing could have been corrected more eaſily, had Charles been ſincerely diſpoſed to give effectual relief to his Iriſh ſubjects. Yet no new writs were iſſued, nor any new time fixed for a regular convention of the Iriſh parliament. As the people, however, ſtill relied on the royal promiſe, and as an act of ſtate, though not confirmed by parliamentary ſanction, had uſually great weight in Ireland, the preſent conceſſions were received with general ſatisfaction; and the inhabitants chearfully ſubmitted to the contribution by which theſe graces had been purchaſed. All parties concurred in this extraordinary ſupply; but the whole merit was aſſumed by the recuſants, who, indeed, formed the majority of the nation.

Notwithſtanding theſe favourable circumſtances, the ſituation of the governor was far from being eaſy. He was harraſſed by the intrigues and clamours of the king's miniſters, whom he could not always gratify; and his actions were ſeverely interpreted at the court of England. The recuſants, taking advantage of the gentleneſs of his adminiſtration, proceeded to celebrate their religious worſhip with the moſt public and oſtentatious ſolemnity. Churches were ſeized for their ſervice; their eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction was openly executed; new friaries and nun-

neries were erected; and, even in the city of Dublin, an academical body was formed for the education of popiſh youth. The clergy, by whom the people were ſtimulated to theſe violent meaſures, were, by their number, as well as principles, juſtly alarming to the government. They ſwarmed into the kingdom from foreign ſeminaries, where they had imbibed the moſt inveterate prejudices againſt England, and the moſt profound veneration for the papal authority. Both ſeculars and regulars had bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to defend the papacy; to labour for the augmentation of its power and privileges; and to perſecute heretics [c].

While the Catholics were thus zealous for the propagation of their religion, the Proteſtants were no leſs ardent in the hatred of popiſh idolatry. Many of them remonſtrated warmly to Faulkland, on the turbulence of the recuſants, and the dangerous tendency of their preſent practices. The temper of the deputy diſpoſed him, and his inſtructions from England directed him to moderation and indulgence in the affair of religious controverſy; but in compliance with the repeated inſtances of the council, he iſſued a proclamation, commanding the recuſants, in his majeſty's name, to forbear the exerciſe of the popiſh rites and ceremonies. The proclamation, however, was diſregarded; nor did the deputy think himſelf warranted to proceed to any farther ſeverity. In proportion as he ſeemed averſe to come to extremities, they became more violent in the proſecution of their purpoſe. They began with pretending to lament the weight of the public burdens. They inveighed againſt thoſe agents whom they had lately ſent into England, and complained that, without ſufficient authority, they had conſented to a tax too grievous to be ſupported. The clamour ſoon became ſo alarming, that the government condeſcended to a ſort of compromiſe, and accepted a quarterly payment of five thouſand, inſtead of ten thouſand pounds, until the whole voluntary contribution ſhould be diſcharged. Lord Faulkland, at the ſame time, was recalled, and the adminiſtration was entruſted for the preſent to two lords-juſtices, who were the viſcount Ely, the lord-chancellor, and the earl of Cork, lord high-treaſurer. Theſe miniſters, without waiting for any inſtructions from England, fell at once with great ſeverity on the recuſants; but were ſoon informed that their rigour was not acceptable to the king.

[c] Carte.

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A fraternity of Carmelites appeared in the habit of their order, and publicly celebrated their religious rites in one of the moſt frequented parts of Dublin. The archbiſhop of the dioceſe, accompanied by the chief magiſtrate of the city, whoſe indignation was rouſed at this defiance of law and government, attempted, with a party of ſoldiers, to diſperſe the aſſembly; but the aſſailants were repelled. and put to flight. This incident being repreſented in England, a reſolution was formed to adopt more rigorous meaſures againſt the recuſants. By an order of the Engliſh council, fifteen religious houſes were ſeized to the king's uſe; and the popiſh college in Dublin was aſſigned to the univerſity, the members of which converted it, for the preſent, into a proteſtant ſeminary.

Every day increaſed the embarraſſment of the king and his miniſters in reſpect of Ireland. There were now no hopes of maintaining the authority of the crown without a competent military force; and the time was near approaching when the voluntary ſubſidy, which had been allotted for that purpoſe, would entirely ceaſe. In this difficult ſituation Charles determined to commit the government of the kingdom to lord viſcount Wentworth, who, though he could not be immediately ſpared from England, was, by his activity and intrigue, of conſiderable ſervice to the king in the management of Iriſh affairs. The great point now to be purſued, was the renewal of the voluntary contribution for ſome time, until the new deputy could aſſume his government, and have leiſure to deviſe ſome permanent proviſion for the army. The preſent lords-juſtices, either from a ſenſe of the public burdens and poverty of Ireland, or from their zeal againſt popery, objected to any continuance of the contribution; and, as a means of providing for the army, adviſed that the recuſants ſhould be ſtrictly preſented, and the weekly fines levied, for their abſence from the eſtabliſhed worſhip [d]. Both the king and Wentworth diſapproved of a ſupply ſo precarious and inadequate; but agreed in the expediency of alarming the recuſants, ſo as to induce them to a new contribution. Charles now uſed a new language to his Iriſh ſubjects: he informed them, that if they did not continue the ſubſidy, the graces, which he had promiſed to be confirmed by parliament, ſhould be ſtreightened; and that the recuſants fines ſhould be ſtrictly levied. At the ſame time he caſt the odium of this meaſure on the

[d] Strafford's Letters.

lords-juſtices, by declaring it to be the conſequence of their advice. The juſtices were terrified; they could not venture to enter the king's letter, agreeably to his order, in the council-book, leſt it ſhould produce ſome violent commotion; and for this they were ſeverely, and even inſolently reprimanded by Wentworth, who affected to deride their apprehenſions. He even inſinuated that the earl of Cork practiſed ſecretly with the proteſtant party, to embarraſs the king in his neceſſities. His agents were privately employed to prevail on the recuſants to offer half a yearly ſubſidy, as the only means of ſuſpending the execution of the penal ſtatutes. After ſome altercation and delay, they at laſt agreed, that the ſum of twenty thouſand pounds ſhould be added to the former contribution, to be paid by quarterly aſſeſſments. Thus were the immediate neceſſities of the government ſupplied; and lord Wentworth was ſoon after ſent to aſſume the adminiſtration, which he did with many prepoſſeſſions, and with paſſions violently inflamed.

A parliament was now, for ſeveral reaſons, highly deſirable. The voluntary contributions for the ſupport of the army had been already ſo long continued, that the ſubjects had reaſon to apprehend leſt they ſhould be converted into a permanent charge upon their lands. The revenues of the crown required improvement, and the circumſtances of the kingdom a ſpeedy ſettlement. By the hopes of a parliament, the council was influenced to renew the contribution for one year longer; and the whole body of the realm concurred in following their example. A ſupply being thus obtained, the army was paid, clothed, and duly diſciplined, without burden or offence to thoſe diſtricts in which they were quartered; and being frequently drawn out in bodies, ſerved to impreſs the people with greater awe of legal authority. But the convening a parliament was, as Wentworth expreſſed it, a matter fit to be weightily conſidered. Charles had an habitual horror of ſuch aſſemblies: beſides, it was natural for him to apprehend, that an Iriſh parliament would inſiſt on the performance of his royal promiſe, and preſs for a confirmation of the graces tranſmitted in inſtruction to lord Faulkland. Some of theſe were conceived to be inconſiſtent with the power neceſſary to be maintained in Ireland; and others ſeemed equally repugnant to the preſent intereſt of the crown. The ſcheme of an extenſive plantation in Connaught, if not allowed, was firmly reſolved on; and the limitation of the king's title to ſixty

years,

years, it was computed, would deprive the crown of full twenty thousand pounds annual revenue. The deputy, however, relying on his own address for managing a parliament, quieted the king's apprehensions; it was therefore resolved to comply with the desires of the nation.

The great object of Wentworth was to prevail on the Irish to grant a liberal supply; and at the same time to evade the confirmation of any of those graces which had been promised by the court, and which were now deemed inconsistent with the interests of the crown. What impression an immediate denial of any of these might make upon the parliament, could not yet be certainly known; but to guard against all danger, he proposed that two distinct sessions should be held, one for providing for the army and the debts of the crown, and the other for enacting laws and graces for the benefit of the subject. As much depended upon the dispositions of the members who were to compose the house of commons, great care was used in the nomination of sheriffs; and the friends of government every where exerted themselves in influencing the elections. It was contrived that the lower house should be composed of both Papists and Protestants, so equally balanced, that neither party should appear predominant; and Wentworth condescended to practise secretly with each. To the recusants he observed, that if some supply were not devised for the army, before the present contribution should expire, the government must necessarily recur to the weekly levies on the absentees from the established worship; while the Protestants were reminded, that until a regular provision should be made for the exigencies of the government, the king could not refuse the bounty of the recusants, or offend them by the execution of penal statutes. A.D. 1634.

Wentworth, with his political address mixed no inconsiderable portion of pride and severity. It had been usual, previous to the holding a parliament, for the lords of the Pale to be summoned and consulted on the time, circumstances, and business of the assembly; and though it was moved in council that this custom should now be observed, the deputy peremptorily prohibited such a resolution. When the lords sent one of their number, the earl of Fingal, to remind him of the custom, he treated the overture with contempt, and even reprimanded their presumption. It was proposed by Wentworth, that the bill of subsidies should be sent with blanks, in order that the king himself might prescribe the number and manner of

of these donations. The council, on the other hand, contended, that the sums required should be immediately specified, and that they should not exceed the strict bounds of necessity. But Wentworth quickly interrupted these deliberations, by informing the members of the council, that instead of consulting what might please the people in parliament, it was the duty of their office to consider what might please the king; that his majesty deserved and expected the confidence of his people, and that he would admit of no conditions. The counsellors, over-awed by the stern authority with which the governor made these declarations, acquiesced in every measure which he proposed. The parliament assembled with great pomp, and the speaker was chosen on the recommendation of the deputy. The commons unanimously voted a grant of six subsidies, to be applied entirely at the direction of the deputy; for whose honour they expressed so much zeal, that when sir Robert Talbot had in the course of debate, been betrayed into some unguarded reflections on that nobleman's conduct, he was instantly expelled, and committed to close custody, until he should implore pardon of the lord-deputy on his knees [e].

But the upper house was not equally favourable to the lord-deputy and his measures. To guard against excesses, to which contending parties might be suddenly transported, he revived an order issued in the late reign, which prohibited the members of either house from entering their respective assembly with their swords; and with this they had usually complied, without considering the insult on their privileges. The usher of the black-rod attended at the entrance of the house of lords to receive the swords of the peers. The earl of Ormond, lately come of age, refused to deliver up what he considered as the ensign of his dignity. The demand being repeated in a peremptory manner, he told the officer, that if he must receive his sword, it should be in his body, and thus marched to his seat with a haughty and indignant air. The lord-deputy, highly incensed at this contempt of his authority, summoned the earl of Ormond to answer before the council for his disobedience. The young lord appeared, avowed his knowlege of the order, and his own wilful disobedience; adding, that he had received the investiture of his earldom per cincturam gladii, and was both entitled and bound, by the royal command, to attend his duty in par-

[e] Cox

liament,

liament, gladio cinctus. Wentworth was abashed and confounded; after consulting with his friends, whether he should at once crush or reconcile this daring spirit, he resolved, in compliance with their advice, to adopt the lenient method; and Ormond soon appeared a particular favourite at the Irish court.

Meanwhile the peers complained loudly of public grievances, and pressed for the confirmation of the royal graces, particularly for that which confined the king's claims on their lands to a retrospect of sixty years. They debated warmly and frequently on several regulations, which they conceived necessary to be established for the public good. They proceeded yet farther: without regard to the provisions of Poynings' statute, they ordered the attorney-general to draw up several laws, on which they had debated, into formal acts, in order to be transmitted into England. Though no governor was more tenacious of the law of Poynings than Wentworth, yet, for the present, he let these extraordinary proceedings pass unnoticed. At last, the session drawing towards a close, it was now the proper time for taking notice of the power assumed by the lords, of framing and transmitting bills; and this was done by a formal protest against their proceeding, made by the lord-deputy, and which he required to be recorded in the journals of the lords; by whom it was received without any apparent ill-temper [f].

The subsequent meetings of this parliament, though intended solely for consulting the interests of the people, yet did not pass without clamour and dissatisfaction. When provision had been once made for the necessities of the government, the deputy spoke with greater freedom of the graces. He told the commons plainly, that some of them were only occasional and temporary, not proper to be enacted when the occasion was removed, and that others were already provided for. In two very essential points he absolutely denied their request: one for limiting the king's title for sixty years, which was judged inconsistent with his service: the other, for enrolling former surrenders, and passing new patents of estates in the province of Connaught and county of Clare. The latter would have entirely defeated the scheme of a western plantation, on which the king was firmly resolved, and which was now considered as a convenient expedient for raising money.

[f] Strafford's Letters.

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At the ſame time with the parliament ſat a convocation of the clergy. They granted the king eight ſubſidies, but not without ſoliciting for the redreſs of ſeveral grievances, and the correction of ſeveral diſorders in eccleſiaſtical affairs. The condition of their church was now deplorable: their places of worſhip were in ruin, and the poſſeſſions of the clergy alienated. Appropriations, commendams, and violent intruſions, had reduced the rural clergy to the greateſt indigence; and even the revenues of biſhopricks had ſuffered extraordinary dilapidations. Ignorance, negligence, and a corruption of manners in the eſtabliſhed clergy, were the conſequences of their poverty. The Romiſh hierarchy, which continued to exerciſe a regular juriſdiction in every quarter of the kingdom, were ſufficiently aſſiduous to take advantage of their abſence or neglect, and in ſome places had poſſeſſed themſelves of eccleſiaſtical lands. The more virulent of the Scottiſh Preſbyterians, on the other hand, were outrageouſly zealous for their own diſcipline and worſhip, offered daily inſults to the eſtabliſhed church-government, and treated even its rites and worſhip with an indecent diſreſpect [h].

Wentworth conſidered theſe ſectaries as equally enemies to the true religion with the Romiſh party; and a perfect conformity was the great work which he, and his friend Laud, were zealous to eſtabliſh in Ireland. In reſpect of eccleſiaſtical affairs, however, the conduct of the lord-deputy was ſufficiently judicious. He began by providing churches to receive, and able miniſters to teach the goſpel. Orders were ſent through the kingdom for the reparation of churches. Many of the landholders, in different parts, influenced by the example of the king, and the deſire of recommending themſelves to the deputy, erected and endowed places of worſhip, and reſigned thoſe poſſeſſions which had been uſurped from the church. The more reluctant were either attacked, or threatened with rigorous proſecutions. Laws were procured, in the late parliament, for reſtitution of the rights of the clergy, and proviſions made to prevent all alienations in future. Nor was the deputy leſs attentive to the means of educating the riſing generation of the Iriſh clergy. But the favourite object of the king and his miniſters ſtill remained to be effected. This was the complete union of the churches of England and Ireland, by eſtabliſhing, in the latter kingdom, the Engliſh articles and canons as the rule

[h] Cox.

of

of doctrine and diſcipline; a plan by no means agreeable to the clergy of the puritanic caſt, who affected an extreme ſolicitude for what they called the independence of their church. Uſher, the head of this party, had never been regarded by lord Wentworth with a favourable eye; but, on account of his ſtation, character, and popularity, it was neceſſary to treat him with reſpect and attention. To reconcile this prelate to the projected reformation, it was agreed, that no cenſure ſhould be paſſed on any of the former Iriſh articles, but that they ſhould be virtually abrogated, by the eſtabliſhment of thoſe of the church of England; and alſo, that the Engliſh canons ſhould not be received in a body, but a collection made of ſuch as might be moſt acceptable. The articles were received, and the canons eſtabliſhed agreeably to the lord-deputy's mind; though this was effected more by the influence of his authority than the general inclinations of the clergy. And theſe regulations, in the eccleſiaſtical ſyſtem, were ſoon followed by the eſtabliſhment of a high-commiſſion court, after the model of that in England.

Wentworth was impatient to ſignalize his adminiſtration by a ſervice of immediate and extenſive emolument to his maſter. His project was nothing leſs than to annihilate the title to every eſtate in Connaught, and to eſtabliſh a new plantation through this whole province [b]. To facilitate this end, he had oppoſed the confirmation of the royal graces, tranſmitted to lord Faulkland; and, as the parliament was now concluded, he was more at leiſure to execute a ſcheme which required a cautious and deliberate procedure. Old records of ſtate, and the memorials of ancient monaſteries, were ranſacked, to aſcertain the king's original title to Connaught. It was ſoon diſcovered, that, in the grant of Henry III. to Richard de Burgo, five cantreds, adjacent to the caſtle of Athlone, were reſerved to the crown; that this grant included the whole remainder of the province, which was now alleged to have been forfeited by Ardh O'Connor, the provincial chieftain; that the lands and lordſhip of de Burgo deſcended lineally to Edward IV. and were confirmed to the crown by a ſtatute of Henry VII. The ingenuity of court-lawyers was employed to invalidate all patents granted to the poſſeſſors of theſe lands, from the reign of queen Elizabeth. It was found, that the indentures made between ſir John Perrot, and the inhabitants of this province, were

[b] Strafford's Letters.

irregular and unauthorized by his commiſſion; that the queen's patents were voided by the non-performance of conditions; that thoſe granted by James were obtained on falſe ſuggeſtions, and executed without due regard to the royal will and direction.

Furniſhed with theſe authorities, Wentworth, at the head of the commiſſioners of plantation, proceeded to the weſtern province. The inhabitants of the county of Leitrim having already acknowleged the king's title to their lands, and ſubmitted to a plantation, the commiſſioners began with thoſe of Roſcommon. The evidences of the king's title were produced, examined, and ſubmitted to a jury, formed of the principal inhabitants. The preſence and authority of the governor had their full effect on this occaſion. The king's title was found without ſcruple or heſitation; and the verdict attended with a petition for an equitable treatment of preſent proprietors, and a due proviſion for the church. The deputy not only promiſed ample ſatisfaction in theſe particulars, but publiſhed a proclamation, by which all the proprietors, throughout the province, were aſſured of eaſy compoſitions, and of new and indefeaſible grants. The counties of Mayo and Sligo followed the example of Roſcommon, and found the king's title with equal chearfulneſs [1].

In proſecuting the royal claims in the county of Galway, the commiſſioners, as was expected, found greater difficulties to encounter. The inhabitants were almoſt wholly of the Romiſh communion, influenced by their clergy, encouraged by recuſant lawyers, and ſupported by the power of the earl of Clanricard, the governor of the county; who, though then reſiding in England, held a conſtant correſpondence with his countrymen. The lawyers pleaded with great vehemence againſt the king's title: the jury was deaf to every argument in its favour, and refuſed to find it: Wentworth was enraged; he laid a fine of one thouſand pounds upon the ſheriff; and bound the refractory jurors to appear in the caſtle-chamber, where they were fined each in the ſum of four thouſand pounds, ſentenced to impriſonment, until it ſhould be paid, and to acknowlege their offence in court upon their knees.

The ſeverity of this ſentence, and even the whole proceedings of the lord-deputy, not only in Galway, but in

[1] Strafford's Letters.

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the other western counties, were represented in England with every circumstance of aggravation, where they were greedily received by the numerous enemies of lord Wentworth. His friend Laud was alarmed at the clamours raised against him, and hinted the propriety of a temporate and cautious conduct; but the disposition of Wentworth was ill-suited for lenient measures, and hurried him, in some instances, to a too rigorous exertion of his authority. Sir Piers Crosby, for opposing some measures of administration, was tried by a court composed of the deputy's creatures, and fined in an excessive sum. The earl of Kildare was imprisoned, for hesitating to submit his property to the sentence of the privy-council. But neither of these made so much impression on the public as the extreme severity experienced by lord Mountmorris. This nobleman, at the arrival of lord Wentworth to his government, was considered, and represented by the deputy, as particularly attached to the interests of the crown. But some causes of mutual dissatisfaction had given rise to a rancorous enmity between them. A hasty expression, used by Mountmorris, gave such offence to the deputy, that nothing less than the ruin of that lord would satisfy his resentment. Mountmorris, who commanded a company in the king's service, was seized, and tried by martial law, in a court where Wentworth presided as general. The obsequious judges unanimously decreed, that lord Mountmorris should be imprisoned for his offence, deprived of his commission in the army, disarmed, declared incapable of any military office, and shot to death, or beheaded, at the pleasure of the general.

Wentworth, in apology for this arbitrary transaction, alleged, that the sentence against Mountmorris was the act of a court of officers, in which he had neither declared his own opinion, nor openly influenced that of others. It was not accepted as a palliation of his violent conduct, that he had not really intended to put this lord to death; that he, and his council, petitioned the king to remit the severity of the sentence; and that Mountmorris, harrassed by a rigorous prosecution, mortified by an ignominious sentence, deprived of his offices, and wearied by the anguish of a tedious confinement, at length obtained his pardon from the throne. The enemies of Wentworth, in England, inveighed against this prosecution with particular triumph; and his warmest friends trembled at the bold excesses of severity which he had committed; but Wentworth, relying on the favour of his

royal maſter, was equally unmoved by the clamour of the former, and the apprehenſions of the latter. Nor was he diſappointed in his expectation. The king approved of his conduct in the warmeſt terms; deſired him to proceed in the work ſo happily begun; and aſſured him, that he conſidered it as the beſt ſervice which the crown had ever received in Ireland.

Wentworth, thus protected, and encouraged by the approbation of his ſovereign, continued to purſue the ſame conduct. Individuals were frequently aggrieved by an adminiſtration which diſdained to be reſtricted within the bounds of the laws; but the kingdom, in general, experienced the good effects of that compoſure produced by the terror of a ſevere, vigilant, and active government. The revenue was conſiderably increaſed by improvements made in the conſtant rents, and the ſums raiſed by fines, on the renewal of letters-patent, and grants of territory. But notwithſtanding all the pains taken for the eſtabliſhment of the weſtern plantation, ſuch was the clamour raiſed againſt the attempt, and ſuch the increaſing diſorders of England, that the ſcheme was laid aſide.

A.D.1639. While the diſcontents in Ireland were more ſilently operating, they were threatened with a dangerous increaſe from the inſurrections which had now broke forth in Scotland. The Scots ſettled in the weſtern counties of Ireland, generally agreed with thoſe of their original country in religious doctrine and diſcipline; and, though more controuled, were no leſs inveterate enemies to the eſtabliſhed mode of church-government and worſhip. Several of them had taken the covenant, and paſſed ſecretly into Scotland to ſhare in the cauſe of their countrymen. The leſs enterpriſing were perſuaded, that the hour was at hand when their own diſcipline ſhould be eſtabliſhed; and boldly reſiſted the attempts which were made to reduce them to conformity; while they were farther encouraged by thoſe from Scotland who traded with the northern counties [d].

Wentworth, juſtly alarmed at theſe proceedings, determined to act with redoubled vigilance and aſſiduity. A new engagement was preſcribed to the Scots of Ulſter, by which they promiſed allegiance to the king, and ſubmiſſion to his commands; expreſſing, at the ſame time, an abhorrence of the proceedings of their countrymen, and an abjuration of all covenants contrary to the tenor of their

[d] Uſher.

preſent

preſent oath. This engagement was impoſed on all ages, ſexes, and conditions: thoſe who refuſed it were fined and impriſoned, in ſome caſes, with circumſtances of barbarity.

On the firſt alarm of the Scottiſh inſurrection, thirty thouſand pounds were remitted to the king from the Iriſh exchequer; to which the deputy added ſome conſiderable donations from his private fortune. The Iriſh army was ſtrengthened by an augmentation of four hundred cavalry. A body of five hundred men, carefully diſciplined, and well appointed, were, at the king's deſire, tranſported into England, under the command of Willoughby, an experienced officer, to form a garriſon for Carliſle. Three hundred more were deſtined to ſecure the caſtle of Dunbarton, but prevented by the activity of the covenanters in ſeizing this important fortreſs. The care of the weſtern parts of Scotland having been committed by the covenanters to the earl of Argyle, in order to alarm him with the fears of an invaſion, and, at the ſame time, to awe thoſe Ulſter Scots who favoured the cauſe of their covenanting brethren, the main body of the Iriſh army was ordered to rendezvous at Carricfergus; and reports induſtriouſly ſpread, that the deputy was ſpeedily to take the command in perſon. When Argyle, with equal vigilance, had opened a communication with the Scots of Ulſter, and ſent his emiſſaries to excite them to take arms, his ſhips were ſeized; a plot to deliver up the caſtle of Carricfergus to the Scots was inſtantly diſcovered, and the principal agent executed without mercy. The caſtle was reinforced; detachments were ſtationed in every place of danger; and magazines provided with arms and ammunition for ten thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe.

Meanwhile, Charles's affairs grew daily more embarraſſed; and Wentworth, being thought too neceſſary to the king's ſervice to remain in Ireland, was directed to quit that kingdom, and to commit the adminiſtration to two lords-juſtices. He had frequently ſolicited Charles to juſtify him againſt the clamour of his enemies, and to blaſt their hopes of ſupplanting him in the royal favour, by granting him ſome new honours. Charles had hitherto denied the requeſt; but was now more condeſcending. He confirmed him in the government of Ireland, by the more honourable title of lord-lieutenant, advanced him to the dignity of an earl, by the title of Strafford, and created him a knight of the garter.

A.D.1640. The popish party of Ireland, whatever were their grievances and complaints, by no means favoured the cause of the covenanters, and, like their brethren of England, affected the most zealous attachment to the king. The puritans were numerous, but not as yet encouraged by their friends in England to avow their discontents. Those who, by their stations or emoluments, were particularly bound to the service of the crown, formed no inconsiderable party in the Irish parliament. Strafford represented to the Irish parliament the ungrateful return made by the Scots to the clemency of his royal master, in the late pacification; and recommended to them to grant a supply adequate to his necessities. The commons even outran his wishes. They granted four entire subsidies, with a high encomium on his majesty's goodness, in constituting the earl of Strafford lord-lieutenant of Ireland, who had endeared himself to the kingdom by an upright and vigilant administration. The king having, in a letter to the two houses, intimated, that, if the Scots did not submit, he should find it necessary to demand two additional subsidies; they declared, with equal unanimity, that they were ready to support his majesty, in all his great occasions, with their lives and fortunes. The Irish lords quickly caught the same spirit of loyalty. At the motion of the earl of Ormond, it was resolved to congratulate the commons on their liberal and chearful grant, and to signify the lords desire of joining them in an intended declaration of loyalty and attachment to the king.

In this favourable disposition of the parliament, Strafford had nothing more to do but issue the necessary orders for levying the grants, and raising and regulating a new army. The pressing occasions of the king again required his immediate return to England. The charge of raising the subsidies was, therefore, committed to Wandesford, his friend and deputy; and the affairs of the army were entrusted chiefly to the earl of Ormond. The new levies were raised with great expedition. Clothing and provisions occasioned some delay; yet, before the king's forces could assemble at Berwick, the whole body of eight thousand foot, and one thousand horse, appeared at Carrickfergus, the place of rendezvous. Their officers, with one thousand of the private men, who had been draughted from the old army, were protestants; but all the rest Roman catholics. And this circumstance was sufficient to raise a violent clamour against the king and Strafford, who, the covenanters exclaimed, armed legions of popish russians,

ruſſians, to glut their malice with the blood of the godly.

But the ſubſidies by which this army was to be ſupported were reluctantly and ſcantily ſupplied [d]. A new ſpirit ſeemed to have ſuddenly actuated the inhabitants of Ireland. They complained of the weight of thoſe four ſubſidies, which they had ſo lately declared was but the earneſt of their beneficence; and they objected to the rates of aſſeſſment, the ſame which had been uſed in the laſt parliament. A general combination was formed through the kingdom, to prevent the levying any money, until a new mode of taxation ſhould be ſettled by the preſent parliament; a reſolution which, in effect, reſcinded the late money-bill, enacted with ſuch remarkable zeal and unanimity.

To account for this ſudden change of diſpoſition, it is to be obſerved, that Charles had by this time convened his Engliſh parliament, which, on their ſhewing an averſion to ſupply his neceſſities, he had ſuddenly diſſolved. The ſpirit of diſaffection was quickly communicated to Ireland. The puritan party, which every day grew more powerful, held a freer correſpondence with their brethren of that country, and laboured to attach them to the common cauſe. The vigilant chief governor was abſent; and, to increaſe the confidence of his ſecret enemies in Ireland, reports were induſtriouſly propagated of his ſickneſs, and death. Popiſh agents were aſſiduous in encouraging their party to ſeize the favourable opportunity of forcing ſome indulgence to their civil and religious claims; and puritans and recuſants alike formed a determinate and regular ſcheme of oppoſition.

In this temper was the Iriſh parliament on its ſecond meeting. Many of the principal lords, and officers of ſtate, were puritanically diſpoſed; and ſeveral, on whoſe ſervices the crown relied, abſented themſelves from parliament. Thoſe military members, who were deſtined to keep the balance between the popiſh and puritan parties, were now neceſſarily at their reſpective poſts; ſo that the malcontents had full liberty to exert themſelves in oppoſition to the government. They began with inveighing againſt the conduct of the eccleſiaſtical courts, their fees, their commutation-money, &c. and preſented a bold remonſtrance to the lord-deputy, Wandesford, on this ſubject. They alſo drew up a declaration againſt any aſcertaining of ſubſidies; condemning the inſtructions iſſued by the deputy and council for raiſing the firſt ſubſidy; ex-

[d] Carte's Ormond.

preſſing their apprehenſions leſt theſe inſtructions ſhould be deemed the continuance of a precedent eſtabliſhed in a former parliament; and proteſting, that neither this precedent, nor the late inſtructions, ſhould be regarded as a warrant for any future aſſeſſment. In compliment to the deputy, and, from a regard to the king's preſſing occaſions, they appointed the firſt ſubſidy to be levied agreeably to the inſtructions; but declared, that the three others, and all future ſubſidies, ſhould be raiſed in what they called a moderate and parliamentary way.

The members of the Iriſh parliament now ſhewed that they had ſtudied the example of that of England, and learned to convey the moſt determined oppoſition in terms of apparent duty and loyalty. Strafford was the only man likely to check this riſing ſpirit; and it was therefore reſolved that he ſhould immediately reſume the reins of the Iriſh government. He was made captain-general of all the Iriſh forces, with power to lead them into Scotland. Preparations were made for his voyage, when, on the illneſs of the earl of Northumberland, the king found it neceſſary to detain him in England, in order to lead his army againſt the Scots, as lieutenant-general. Meanwhile the commons of Ireland, in their ſucceeding ſeſſion, aſſembled with paſſions ſtill more violent, and with a more ſyſtematic ſcheme of oppoſition. They began with complaints againſt thoſe very acts which Strafford had procured for reforming and civilizing the nation. Such were the laws which enjoined the general uſe of Engliſh apparel, which prohibited ploughing by the tail, burning corn in the ſtraw, or tearing wool from living ſheep. The lords concurred in a repreſentation of the accidental grievances attending the execution of ſuch ſtatutes. And ſo little attention was paid to the moſt obvious principles of liberty, amidſt the violence of faction, that the deputy was moved to exerciſe a diſpenſing power, and to ſuſpend the penalties anexed to theſe laws.

The malcontents in England obſerved the diſpoſition of the Iriſh parliament with pleaſure, and cheriſhed that ſpirit which promiſed to advance their preſent purpoſes. The ruin of the earl of Strafford was the favourite object of the popular party. A charge was already preferred againſt him; meaſures were concerted for ſupporting the accuſation; Ireland was the ſcene where this obnoxious nobleman had been principally diſtinguiſhed; and his proſecutors, therefore, naturally looked to this kingdom. Here they found a numerous party ready to ſecond their de-

sins. A remonstrance of grievances sustained by the Irish subjects during the administration of the earl, was hastily prepared, and presented to the house of commons. Had the several articles of this remonstrance received a distinct and temperate discussion, many might have proved groundless or vague, and many not chargeable to the chief governor, at whom they were pointed. But the proceeding on this occasion discovered more of zeal than candour. It was presented abruptly to the house; required to be twice read; no objection was admitted; no member allowed to speak to it; no question was put upon the separate articles; but the particulars were collected into one question, and tumultuously voted to be grievances. The remonstrance concluded with a petition to the lord-deputy, that if he should not think fit to afford relief, he would at least admit a select committee of the commons to repair to the king in England, in order to obtain a redress for their grievances and oppressions. Before an answer could be obtained, the commons proceeded to nominate this committee. Wandesford, the lord-deputy, was perplexed and intimidated. He endeavoured to evade an answer to their remonstrance, by recommending a conference with a committee of the lords on the articles contained in it. The commons rejected the overture; and while their committee, composed of virulent Papists and rigid Puritans, prepared to embark secretly for England, the deputy was left to the usual expedient of prorogation.

The Irish committee was received in London with particular favour by the popular party, which expected considerable assistance from them in the prosecution of the earl of Strafford[g]. Their public instructions were to address themselves to the king; but they seem to have been privately directed to apply to a power greater than the king's, that of the English house of commons. To prepare the way for their favourable reception, Mr. Pym, with the assistance of sir John Clotworthy, a gentleman of Ireland, whose attachment to the popular party, and enmity to the earl of Strafford, had gained him a seat in the English parliament, obtained a committee to take into consideration the grievances of Ireland. To this committee the agents readily communicated their remonstrance, which, with a petition from several of the members of the Irish parliament, was presented to the house. The first alarm of danger was now conveyed to the earl

[g] Usher.

of Strafford. He was impeached, ſequeſtered from parliament, and committed to cuſtody.

The ſudden death of Wandesford, lord-deputy of Ireland, is imputed to the violent impreſſion made on his mind, by the vexations of his government, and the proſecution of Strafford. This event afforded the Iriſh committee, reſident in London, a fair occaſion of diſplaying their power. Soon after the prorogation of the Iriſh parliament, they were joined by ſome lords of Ireland, delegated by a number of the Iriſh nobility, moſt inimical to Strafford, and directed to unite with the agents of the commons, in repreſenting the grievances of the nation. The popular leaders in the Engliſh parliament, without examining their commiſſion, received them with open arms. Such was the conſequence which the Iriſh delegates now acquired, that the king deemed it neceſſary to court them, and laboured to ſoften their reſentments againſt his favourite by ſome incautious condeſcenſions.

The appointment of a ſucceſſor to Wandesford became an object of deliberation. The earl of Strafford, who knew the circumſtances of Ireland, recommended with particular earneſtneſs the earl of Ormond, a nobleman not only zealous in the royal cauſe, but an enemy both to the Romiſh and puritan factions. The Iriſh committee, however, in the plenitude of their power and indulgence, had the hardineſs to remonſtrate againſt this nomination, and were ſo ſucceſsful, that the king relinquiſhed the deſign of employing the earl of Ormond, and declared his reſolution of committing the Iriſh government to two lord-juſtices, equally choſen from the contending parties; lord Dillon of Kilkenny-weſt, a nobleman of approved attachment to the royal ſervice, and ſir William Parſons, diſtinguiſhed for his zeal in favour of the popular and puritanic faction.

The Iriſh committee having influenced the king to this condeſcenſion, were not long in preſſing him with new demands. They proceeded to remonſtrate againſt lord Dillon as a perſon unfit to be entruſted with the adminiſtration of the Iriſh government. Charles, impatient of being relieved from a conteſt which interrupted his attention to matters of greater importance, revoked the nomination of Dillon, and abandoned the government of Ireland to ſir William Parſons, and ſir John Borlaſe, two puritan lords-juſtices, without abilities or character, and full fraught with all the illiberal prejudices of party.

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In proportion to the king's conceſſions, the committee roſe in their demands; and Charles, having already ſtooped to ſo great condeſcenſions, felt leſs reluctance in granting their ſubſequent requeſts. He conſented to ſend orders to Ireland, that they ſhould not be proſecuted for departing that kingdom without licence; that the ſubſidies ſhould be aſſeſſed in the manner preſcribed by their houſe; and that all the king's correſpondence with his miniſters of Ireland ſhould be entered in the ſignet-office, open to the inſpection of every ſubject. Having thus far experienced the compliance of the king, they at length preſented their remonſtrance in due form. An anſwer, prepared by ſir George Ratcliffe, was ſoon after read in council, and a copy delivered to the committee. They were immediately alarmed; and proteſted againſt the king's conſulting on their affairs either with the earl of Strafford, Ratcliffe, or ſir Philip Mainwaring, another of his zealous friends. They were called to make their reply; when, the diſcuſſion of particulars being difficult and hazardous, they agreed to entrench themſelves in a general declaration of the ſenſe of the Iriſh houſe of commons, concerning the grievances alleged[g].

The Iriſh parliament, in the mean time, again aſſembled, and with ſpirits ſtill more elevated. Not contented with demanding a redreſs of former grievances, they aſpired, in imitation of their neighbours in England, to new privileges, and new ſecurities. Having provided for the ſupport of their agents in London, by a public aſſeſſment, they proceeded to inſtruct them to apply to the throne for new laws and regulations, calculated to encreaſe their own power, no leſs than to advance the public intereſt. The commons, whether in the ferment of their own zeal, or in compliance with the inſtructions received from England, proceeded to an impeachment of ſir Richard Bolton the chancellor, doctor Bramhal, biſhop of Derry, ſir Gerrard Lowther, chief-juſtice of the common-pleas, and ſir George Ratcliffe, men of known attachment to the earl of Strafford. They were charged with high treaſon, for exerciſing an illegal and tyrannical government in Ireland, by the countenance and aſſiſtance of the earl of Strafford; of aſſuming a regal power over the properties, perſons, and liberties of the ſubjects; pronouncing unjuſt decrees, and extra-judicial opinions, and of ſubverting the privileges of parliament.

g Ware.

A charge ſo vague and general, however conformable to the proceedings in England againſt the earl of Strafford, was not univerſally well received in the houſe of lords. A variety of queſtions and points of difficulty were ſuggeſted, little ſuited to the impetuoſity of the commons, who became impatient, and even clamorous, for a full compliance with their demand. It was at length reſolved, that Bramhal and Lowther ſhould be confined; and that the lords-juſtices ſhould be informed that the houſe held it alſo fit that the chancellor ſhould be committed to cuſtody, and therefore requeſted that their lordſhips might appoint ſome other perſon for their ſpeaker. They were anſwered, that the chancellor and chief-juſtice were at this time peculiarly neceſſary at the council-board, and that the lords-juſtices wiſhed the houſe would entruſt them with the diſpoſal of theſe perſons; that their deſire of a new ſpeaker ſhould be tranſmitted to the king, and that they deſired a meſſage from the houſe to bail the parties accuſed, if their lordſhips ſaw cauſe. The lords complied; and the conteſt between the houſes was for the preſent ſuſpended by a prorogation. But the diſcontented party ſoon enjoyed a conſummate triumph, in the trial of the earl of Strafford, and the act of attainder paſſed againſt this unhappy lord. To have been diſcountenanced, or treated with any ſeverity by him, was now conſidered as the moſt effectual recommendation to honours and employments. Sir Piers Croſby, his accuſer, was reſtored to his place in council; and Archibald Adair, the wretched Scottiſh prelate, who had been deprived of the ſee of Killala, for his declarations in favour of the covenant, was recommended by a puritanic government to the biſhoprick of Waterford [m].

The lords-juſtices, terrified by the remonſtrances, declined to hear any ſuits, or to decide any cauſes in council. The court of high commiſſion, and the preſidental courts of Munſter and Connaught, were afraid to exerciſe their wonted juriſdiction. The judges of the law-courts were no leſs intimidated; adminiſtration became contemptible to a people who had been uſed to a government of ſeverity.

The unnatural coalition of puritan and popiſh, it may well be imagined, was made for no other purpoſe, but that of ſeizing the advantage of the coufuſions in England, the fall of Strafford, and the embarraſſments of the

[m] Cox,

crown,

crown, to extort from the king some concessions favourable to their respective interests; and some members in both houses of parliament had already entertained deep and dangerous designs, not yet discovered, and perhaps not sufficiently matured. Every step towards the ruin of lord Strafford encreased the confidence of the Irish committees still resident in London. They repeatedly solicited the king to grant an answer to the remonstrances of the Irish parliament, and to redress the grievances which had been conveyed to the throne. Charles at last consented that they should be considered in the privy-council, and to most of the articles gave a favourable answer. He agreed to moderate the assessment of the nobility; to confirm their rights and privileges by act of parliament; to deprive those peers of their votes, who should not purchase estates in Ireland within a limited time; to allow all Irish subjects to repair to any part of his dominions without restraint; to prohibit the chief governors and council from deciding property, or avoiding letters patent; to revoke monopolies; to suspend the high-commission court; and to refer the demands of the clergy to the Irish council, in order to frame an act for an equitable regulation of their claims and courts. He likewise consented that the graces should be considered by the lords-justices and council, and a bill prepared for the establishment of such as appeared most conducive to the interests of the kingdom. He agreed to reform the abuses of Quo warrantos, and to restrain the execution of martial law. Only a few points of the petition were rejected; and in particular he refused to consent that any part of the law of Poynings should be repealed.

But the committee appears to have placed little confidence in concessions which were obtained during the humiliation of the king. Instead of depending on the royal favour, they demanded the security of a formal declaration of the rights they claimed; the powers which Charles promised not to exercise, they required to be abolished; and in respect of Poynings law, they contended that it did not preclude the two houses of parliament from concurring with the council in preparing and transmitting bills. A negociation on these subjects with the Irish council, was attended with an inconvenient delay; and the time to which the Irish parliament had been prorogued was already elapsed, before the king's order for a farther prorogation had been received. It was necessary, therefore, by a short bill, to declare the continuance

tinuance of this aſſembly, and to give validity to its proceedings; for which purpoſe the king's letter was tranſmitted. It was no leſs neceſſary, by ſome act of favour, to conciliate the Iriſh parliament, which had diſcovered ſo much violence during the former ſeſſion. Without waiting the proceedings of the Iriſh committee, Charles addreſſed a letter to the lords-juſtices, declaring his pleaſure that the Iriſh ſhould enjoy the benefit of all his graces, and directing that bills ſhould be tranſmitted for eſtabliſhing ſome material articles, and particularly for ſecuring the eſtates in the province of Connaught from all the claims of the crown.

For this favourable attention of the king, both houſes of parliament returned him ſolemn thanks; in expreſſing which, however, they ſhewed a firm reſolution not to abate of their demands. They prayed that all the graces ſhould be eſtabliſhed by law; and that the preſent parliament ſhould not be prorogued or diſſolved, until laws were provided for the redreſs of every grievance. The ſame determined ſpirit continued to actuate both houſes throughout the ſeſſion. The commons in particular proceeded with that violent ſpirit of reformation, which the example of their neighbours had inſpired. By a ſolemn declaration they aſſerted their ancient right of repairing at all times to his majeſty, by their agents, with the intervention of the chief governor. Not ſatisfied with the reſtraints of martial law preſcribed by the king, they reſolved to limit the execution of it, even in times of war and rebellion. Every queſtionable demand of the clergy was at once pronounced a grievance; and this with ſuch ſeverity, that their maintenance was rendered precarious; ſo that the houſe was afterwards obliged to qualify the preſent reſolutions. Not ſatisfied with reſcinding decrees made in favour of the clergy, and involving particulars of this order in vexatious difficulties, the houſe proceeded to ſtrike at the very vitals of the religious eſtabliſhment, by harraſſing the univerſity.

A ſeſſion of conſiderable heat and violence was protracted, in expectation of the Iriſh committees at length returning to Ireland with the bills promiſed by the king. The delay grew alarming to the lords-juſtices, who dreaded ſome new acts of violence from the parliament. The houſes at length adjourned, apparently with a determined purpoſe, of afterwards riſing in their demands, and extorting new conceſſions from the throne. To animate their hopes, the committees arrived during the receſs, in

the triumph of having accomplished the various objects of their undertaking.

This interval of the Irish parliament, proved an important period, distinguished by a desperate conspiracy and insurrection, which owed its rise both to national and religious prejudices. There was one Roger Moore, the head of a once powerful family of Leinster [p]. His ancestors, in the reign of Mary, had been expelled from their large possessions, by violence and fraud; and their sept harrassed and almost extirpated by military execution. The remains of them were distinguished by a hereditary hatred of the English, against whom Moore in particular entertained implacable sentiments of revenge. He was allied by intermarriages to several of the old English, and lived in intimacy with those of the first distinction among them. He attached himself particularly to the son of the rebel-earl of Tirone, who had obtained a regiment in Spain, and was carressed at that court. On an excursion which Moore made thither, these two companions used to dwell on the calamities of their fathers, their brave efforts in the cause of their countrymen, and the hopes of yet reviving the ancient splendor of their families. The spirit of Moore was kindled. He vowed to make one noble effort for the restoration of his brethren, and returned to Ireland in the resolution of engaging in some bold design. His first object was to render himself popular among the native Irish; in which he was abundantly successful. They regarded him with veneration; they celebrated him in their songs; and it became a proverbial expression, that their dependance was on God, our Lady, and Roger Moore. A.D.1661.

He proceeded to practise cautiously with his friends and kinsmen, and by fomenting their discontents and alarming their fears, to lead them gradually into his design. He soon wrought upon the temper of Richard Plunket, a man of good birth and connexions, and who became an active agent in the conspiracy. No great difficulty was apprehended in gaining the Ulster Irish, who had been so severely chastised by the arms of Elizabeth, and so grievously despoiled by the plantations of James. Of these, Moore first applied to Connor Macguire, baron of Inniskillen, and regarded as the chieftain of a powerful sept. It was not long before he prevailed upon this Northern to join in the plot; and he wrought with no less facility on three other Irishmen of the same province, Mac-Mahon, Philip Reiley, and Torlagh, brother of sir Phelim O'Nial, the

[p] Carte, Ann. MSS.

most

moſt conſiderable of his name and lineage now reſident in Ulſter.

To quicken the reſolutions and animate the hopes of the conſpirators, there now arrived an emiſſary from the earl of Tirone, as he was called, with aſſurances, to all of his name and kindred, of arms, money, and ammunition from cardinal Richlieu, and inſtructions to hold themſelves ready for an inſurrection. In their preſent agitation, they were not damped by a ſudden rumour of the death of young Tirone; but inſtructed their meſſenger, that, if the report ſhould be confirmed, he ſhould addreſs himſelf to another of the ſame family in the Low Countries, colonel Owen O'Nial; and particularly that he would continue the negociation with the cardinal of France, and ſecure the ſuccours which had been promiſed from that quarter.

The ſpirit of the malcontents was farther inflamed by intelligence received about this time, of terrible proclamations of the Scots againſt all of their communion[q]. Fears of extirpation by the fanatic fury of the puritans, were ſeriouſly entertained by ſome, and affected and propagated by the more deſigning. It was repreſented, that the Scots, in the phrenzy of religious zeal, were ready to invade Ireland, and perſecute the catholics with ſword and devaſtation. Even the more loyal among the Romaniſts were alarmed at the thought of ſending the diſbanded Iriſh army into foreign ſervice; while the conſpirators had obvious reaſons for inſiſting on the detention of theſe troops.

Plunket, Byrne, and Dillon, three of the conſpirators, had undertaken to ſeize the caſtle of Dublin; and they had a proſpect of a powerful northern inſurrection to cooperate with their attempts. The fifth day of October was fixed for the time of riſing; but, by the coolneſs of ſome, on whom great reliance had been placed, the whole deſign ſeemed likely to evaporate. The undaunted ſpirit of Moore was irritated and mortified. He had of late kept himſelf retired, enjoying with ſecret pleaſure the progreſs of that conflagration which he had lighted up. But now he was neceſſarily called forth to take a more active part. He therefore ſtepped out of his retreat, and by his aſſiduity, addreſs, and artifice, revived the zeal of his aſſociates. It was now finally reſolved to ſurpriſe the caſtle of Dublin on the 23d day of October; and Moore was the firſt to undertake this daring enterprize. In reſpect to the proceedings in the country, it was reſolved that the riſing

[q] Nalſon,

ſhould

ſhould be on the ſame day, and as general as poſſible; that all forts and garriſons ſhould be ſeized, and all the gentry made priſoners, for the better ſecurity of the conſpirators, in caſe their enterprize ſhould miſcarry. When the time of execution had been ſettled, an emiſſary was diſpatched to Owen O'Nial; and returned with aſſurance that in fourteen days after he would arrive to their ſupport. As the day approached, they gradually drew towards Dublin. On the evening of the 22d day of October, they aſſembled, in expectation of the detachments deſtined to aſſault the caſtle; but of theſe, eight only were arrived. This diſappointment, however, was not ſufficient to deter the leaders. They encouraged each other with the aſſurance that every hour would increaſe their numbers; and, to give time for the arrival of their ſuccours, reſolved that the aſſault ſhould be made on the evening of the enſuing day.

In regard to the deſign of this conſpiracy, it appears to have been nothing leſs than the utter ſubverſion of all the late eſtabliſhments of property; reſtoring the native Iriſh to all that they had loſt, by the rebellions of their anceſtors, or the deciſions of law; and procuring a full re-eſtabliſhment of the Romiſh religion. Even to this moment the officers of ſtate in Ireland ſeemed to ſleep in perfect ſecurity. On the death of Strafford, the earl of Leiceſter had been nominated lord-lieutenant of the kingdom; but his commiſſion was delayed, and the adminiſtration ſtill continued in the hands of ſir William Parſons, and ſir John Borlaſe. The former was only attentive to increaſe his fortune; and the latter aged, indolent, and ignorant, except in the buſineſs of his profeſſion. Both of them had owed their ſtation to the Engliſh commons, and their partizans in the privy-council; and their attention and attachment was confined wholly to the prevailing power. Confident of ſupport, they diſobeyed the orders, and deſpiſed the inſtructions, of the king. On the 11th day of October, they were informed, by an expreſs from Inneſkillen, of an unuſual and ſuſpicious reſort of various Iriſh to the houſe of ſir Phelim O'Nial; and of other circumſtances alarming to the friends of the government. The lords-juſtices, nevertheleſs, continued inſenſible to their danger. On the 21ſt, ſir William Cole diſpatched from Inneſkillen a full account of the conſpiracy, which two accomplices had by this time revealed to him. Yet this inſtance of his zeal proved equally ineffectual; for his letter to the juſtices was either

intercepted

intercepted or ſuppreſſed. At length, however, an accident obtruded a diſcovery on the lords-juſtices, when the conſpirators had agreed finally on their operations, and only waited the hour of execution[9]. Owen O'Conolly, to whom the plot had but lately been communicated, determined on diſcovering it to the lords-juſtices; and for this purpoſe, during a ſtate of intoxication, preſented himſelf before ſir William Parſons; whom he informed of the deſperate deſign to be immediately executed, of his author, and the principal aſſociates. Parſons, prejudiced againſt his appearance, and the manner of his diſcovery, paid little attention to the ſtory. On his departure, however, the lord-juſtice was ſuddenly recalled to a ſenſe of danger. He ordered the caſtle and city to be guarded: he ſought his colleague, and informed him of the extraordinary incident. Borlaſe was ſtruck with the narrative; he ſummoned the privy-counſellors; and diſpatched meſſengers through the city in ſearch of O'Conolly; whom, having been ſeized in the ſtreets as a ſuſpicious perſon, they found in the hands of the town-watch. Being ſtill diſordered by his terror and exceſs, he was permitted to take repoſe; and then gave his information clearly and particularly. Mac-Mahon was firſt ſeized; lord Macquire was detected in his concealment; Moore, Byrne, and other leaders, received timely intimation of their danger, and eſcaped. Mac-Mahon, after ſome heſitation, freely confeſſed the deſign in which he had engaged; boaſted that the inſurrection of that day was too powerful and general to be ſubdued; and expreſſed his ſatisfaction, that, though he had fallen into the hands of his enemies, his death would be ſeverely revenged.

The capital was thrown into the utmoſt terror; and a proclamation iſſued by the lords-juſtices, commanding all ſtrangers to depart from the city, on pain of death, had not allayed the general commotion. Many of the Engliſh inhabitants prepared to eſcape to their native country. A fleet of Scotiſh fiſhermen offered to detach five hundred of their crew to the ſervice of the ſtate; but this overture had ſcarcely been accepted, when a falſe alarm of danger drove them from the coaſt. Four hundred ſoldiers, embarked for the ſervice of Spain, but detained in the harbour by orders of the Engliſh parliament, were prohibited from landing, until they were on the point of periſhing by famine; and then were ſuffered to diſperſe through the country, to be enliſted by the rebel-leaders.

[9] Temple. Iriſh Rebellion.

A few

A few days allayed the confuſion of the capital; but to prevent any dangerous concourſe thither, the parliament, appointed to aſſemble in November, was farther prorogued, and all the courts of law, except the exchequer, adjourned [r]. The ſheriffs of thoſe counties which compoſed the Engliſh Pale, were ordered to provide for the ſecurity of this diſtrict, where the influence of great lords of the Romiſh communion, excited apprehenſions in the government. But in a ſhort time ſeveral noblemen of that perſuaſion appeared before the council, and expreſſed their abhorrence of the conſpiracy. Romiſh and proteſtant ſubjects alike gave ſolemn aſſurances of their loyalty, and declared their readineſs to concur in defence of the realm; but being deſtitute of arms, required to be provided, for their own and the general ſafety. The lords-juſtices were embarraſſed by this requeſt, from men whom, on one hand, they regarded with diſtruſt, and, on the other, were afraid of exaſperating, at ſo critical a time, by a refuſal. A middle way of proceeding was therefore adopted. The council aſſured them that they had an entire reliance on their zeal and loyalty; that they would gladly ſupply them with arms, but were not yet certain whether a ſufficient number could be ſpared from the neceſſary defence of the caſtle and city; but that ſome ſhould be ſpared. They accordingly delivered out a ſmall quantity to ſome of thoſe lords who, by their ſituation, ſeemed moſt expoſed to danger.

Meanwhile, the moſt affecting accounts were hourly received of the progreſs of the northern rebels. The confederates, faithful to their engagements, had riſen at the appointed time, in different quarters. Sir Phelim O'Nial, on the 22d of October, ſurpriſed the caſtle of Charlemont, then a place of conſiderable ſtrength. He thence flew to Dungannon, and ſeized the fort, while ſome of his adherents poſſeſſed themſelves of the town and caſtle of Mountjoy. Tandragee was ſurpriſed by the ſept of O'Hanlan; Newry betrayed to ſir Conn Magennis and his followers; and, what was of yet greater conſequence to the inſurgents, they poſſeſſed themſelves of a conſiderable quantity of arms and ammunition. Almoſt all Fermanagh ſubmitted to the fury of Roger, brother to lord Macguire. Every place of ſtrength in Monaghan was ſeized by the ſept of Mac-Mahon.

In the county of Cavan, both the repreſentative in parliament, O'Reily, and the ſheriff, his brother, were deeply

[r] Temple. Iriſh Rebellion.

engaged

engaged in the rebellion. They proceeded with unuſual regularity. The ſheriff ſummoned the popiſh inhabitants to arms: they marched under his command with the appearance of diſcipline; and forts, towns, and caſtles were ſurrendered to them. The county of Longford was alſo ſummoned to arms by the popiſh ſheriff; and every caſtle, houſe, and plantation, of the Britiſh inhabitants was ſeized. Leitrim followed the example; ſo that within the ſpace of eight days the rebels were abſolute maſters of the counties of Tirone, Monaghan, Longford, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Donnegal, and Derry, except a few places; as they likewiſe were of ſome parts of Armagh and Downe. Through the whole open country of theſe diſtricts, the Engliſh inhabitants, from a ſtate of proſperity, were ſuddenly reduced to the moſt deplorable condition. They ſcarcely believed the firſt reports of an inſurrection; and the beginnings of hoſtilities ſerved rather to confound, than to excite them to any reaſonable meaſures of defence.

The hopes of plunder quickly allured the Iriſh ſepts to the ſervice of O'Nial; ſo that in one week he is ſaid to have had thirty thouſand followers. Parties of plunderers multiplied, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the houſes and properties of their Engliſh neighbours. Reſiſtance produced ſome blood-ſhed; and in ſome inſtances, private revenge, religious hatred, and the ſuſpicion of ſome valuable concealment, hurried the licentious rebels to acts of barbarity and murder[c]. So far, however, was the original ſcheme of the conſpiracy at firſt purſued, that few fell by the ſword, except in hoſtile contention: no indiſcriminate maſſacre was as yet committed. The Engliſh were either confined in priſons, in perpetual terror of deſtruction; or driven naked from their habitations; expoſed at once to the inclemency of a ſeaſon remarkably ſevére, and to the horrors of famine.

The leaders of the rebellion as yet confined their attack to the Engliſh, and left the Scottiſh planters unmoleſted. Every marauding party thundered out their deteſtation of England, and Engliſh tyranny. They vowed not to leave one Engliſhman in their country; and that they would have no king but one of their own nation. This rancorous ſpirit was kept alive by falſe hopes of ſupport. The rebels were ſometimes aſſured that the Scots had really concurred in the deſign of extirpating the Engliſh. Some-

[c] MS. Trin. Col. Dub.

times

times their leaders boaſted that they had riſen in conſequence of inſtructions from the queen. In ſeizing Charlemont, O'Nial declared that he acted by authority of the Engliſh parliament. But theſe pretences were ſoon diſavowed as dangerous to their cauſe. On the day following, the Iriſh leader profeſſed that he had the king's authority for taking arms. He produced a parchment, with a great-ſeal appending, which he affirmed to be this commiſſion; and though he would not ſuffer it to be inſpected, the bold aſſertion gained credit with the puritan-party, which entertained no favourable ſentiments of Charles. The firſt report of this pretended commiſſion was encountered by a proclamation of the lords-juſtices, warning the ſubjects againſt the deluſion of falſe and ſeditious rumours, derogatory to the honour of the crown; and denouncing the terror of puniſhment againſt thoſe who ſhall refuſe to accept the royal mercy.

At this day, when the virulence of party has ſubſided, the very terms in which this inſtrument is conceived, may be ſufficient to diſcredit it, and evince it to be a ſcandalous forgery. At the cloſe of this inſurrection, the rebel-leaders, their clergy, their agents, all uniformly declared that they had no commiſſion from the king, but had invented the tale to collect and animate their followers [b]. The dying declaration of lord Macguire diſclaimed any commiſſion from the king. Sir Phelim O'Nial, on his trial, peremptorily denied that he had ever received any commiſſion. He explained the means by which his Iriſh followers were deceived. He declared, that, in ranſacking the caſtle of Charlemont, he found a patent of lord Caulfield's, from which he took the great-ſeal, and affixed it to a forged commiſſion. At the hour of his execution he perſiſted in a ſolemn diſavowal of having received any commiſſion from the king, for levying or proſecuting the war of Ireland. Upon the whole, the idea that the rebels acted under any commiſſion from Charles, is refuted both by poſitive and circumſtantial evidence, of the ſtrongeſt kind; and there remains not the ſmalleſt doubt, that the report was fabricated by the leaders of that party, in order to gain credit to their cauſe.

The progreſs of the northern rebels did not correſpond with the rapidity of their firſt ſucceſſes. The Engliſh gentlemen in different parts of Ulſter quickly recovered from their conſternation, and took the neceſſary meaſures for defence. The wretched fugitives of this province,

[b] Depoſitions, MS.

who escaped the fury of the rebels, or were driven from their habitations, took refuge in Carrickfergus, where Chichester, the governor, collected, encouraged, and armed them. In other towns, not surprised by the rebels, defensive measures were adopted; and the friends of the government, though not yet formally authorised to take up arms, ventured to march out against the enemy. When the king, who was then at Edinburgh, received intelligence of the commotions in Ireland, he communicated the information to the Scottish parliament, in the hope that their zeal for religion, and abhorrence of popery, would rouse them to the assistance of their distressed brethren. But his application not meeting with that attention which he had expected, he contrived, by means of some experienced officers lately disbanded, to collect fifteen hundred of their old soldiers. These were instantly dispatched to his loyal commanders of Ulster, with arms, ammunition, and some money, procured by the assistance of the duke of Lenox.

This timely supply, however inconsiderable, served to animate the subjects of the North; where the gentlemen, having received commissions from the king, were now legally authorised to command those whom before they could not exhort to defence. Wherever the English inhabitants were embodied, their exertions were attended with success. In Fermanagh, the rebels were forced to raise the siege of Enniskillen; and the castle of lord Macguire was taken by storm. In Tirone, sir Phelim O'Nial was driven with disgrace and slaughter from the siege of Castle-Derrick. In Donnegal, he received another defeat; and his forces, after being repelled in various attempts, were obliged to return to his camp at Newry. Still confident, however, in the number of his followers, whom the hopes of plunder were daily alluring to his service, he determined to strike an important blow, by investing Carrickfergus. For this purpose, it was previously necessary to reduce Lisburn, a powerful Scottish settlement, for the pretence of leaving the Scottish settlers unmolested, was soon forgotten. Hither, therefore, he detached a well-appointed body of four thousand men. The town had already sustained a violent assault; but relying on the strength of his party, and his intelligence with the Irish inhabitants, O'Nial entertained the most sanguine expectations of success. By good fortune sir Arthur Tyringham had brought a seasonable reinforcement to the garrison; and at the very moment of danger, was assisted in his dispositions by the

the arrival of sir George Rawdon, an eminent English settler and gallant officer. After various attacks and repulses, the rebels were at last put to flight, with so great a slaughter, that the number of the slain is said to have trebled the whole garrison.

But the success of the loyalists was productive of consequences truly horrible. The Irish, incensed at resistance, and farther exasperated by defeat, carried on hostilities without faith or humanity. Lurgan was surrendered by sir William Brownlow, on terms of security to the inhabitants, and permission of marching out unmolested with his family, goods, and retinue. Notwithstanding this capitulation, all were instantly seized, and the whole town given up to plunder. At every instance of his ill-success, sir Phelim O'Nial was either transported to the utmost pitch of vindictive rage, or so alarmed at the well-known instability of his followers, that he determined, with an infernal policy, to plunge them so deep in blood, as to preclude their reconciliation with the government. On the repulse of his forces at the castle of Augher, he ordered his execrable agent, Mac Donnel, to massacre all the British Protestants in three adjacent parishes. The defeat at Lisburn provoked this savage and his barbarous followers to the most diabolical vengeance. Lord Caulfield, who had been conveyed to one of O'Nial's houses, was wantonly and basely murdered [k], Fifty others in the same place were sacrificed to the poniards of the Irish. Their miserable prisoners, confined in different quarters, were now brought out, under pretence of being conducted to the next English settlements. They were goaded forward like beasts by their guards, who exulted in their sufferings, and determined on the destruction of those who had not already sunk under their tortures. Sometimes they shut them up in some house or castle, which they set on fire, with a more than brutal indifference to their cries, and a hellish triumph over their expiring agonies. Sometimes the miserable captives were plunged into the first river, to which they had been driven by their tormentors. One hundred and ninety were, at once, precipitated from the bridge at Portadown. Irish ecclesiastics were seen encouraging the carnage. The women, forgetting the delicacy of their sex, pursued the English with execrations, and embrued their hands in the blood of the captives; while even children, in their feeble malice, lifted the dagger against the helpless pri-

[k] Nalson.

ſoners. Nor were the miſeries of thoſe leſs horrible who eſcaped the utmoſt fury of the rebels. They languiſhed in a ſtate of diſtraction, with their imaginations overpowered and diſordered by the recollection of tortures and butchery.

The natural effect of theſe exceſſes was an enthuſiaſtic hatred of the Iriſh, which tranſported the Britiſh ſettlers into the ſame outrageous cruelty that had excited their abhorrence. The Scottiſh ſoldiers, in particular, who had reinforced the garriſon of Carricfergus, were poſſeſſed with a habitual hatred of popery, and inflamed to an implacable deteſtation of the Iriſh, by multiplied accounts of their barbarities. In one fatal night they iſſued from Carricfergus into an adjacent diſtrict called Iſland Magee, where lived a number of the poorer Iriſh, entirely innocent of the rebellion. Theſe the ſoldiers are ſaid to have aſſailed in their beds, and maſſacred with deliberate cruelty.

During the progreſs of theſe northern commotions, the lords-juſtices confined their attention to their own ſecurity, and that of the capital[a]. The numbers of wretched fugitives who ſought ſhelter in Dublin, from their mercileſs enemies, exhibited a melancholy ſpectacle, and called aloud for the moſt vigorous exertions of the government. The earl of Ormond, who was appointed lieutenant-general of the army, declared for marching inſtantly againſt the rebels, with ſuch forces as might be ſpared from the defence of Dublin. A conſiderable part of the army was aſſembled, new levies were made, and the royal magazines ſufficiently ſupplied. The main body of the rebels, which lay in the county of Lowth, were at this time wretchedly provided and diſpirited. Yet the lords-juſtices contented themſelves with diſpatching ſir Henry Tichburne, with his regiment, to ſecure Drogheda from any attempt of the rebels, who, to the number of four thouſand, lay at Athirdee, ſeven miles diſtant from this garriſon.

Such a force as Ormond propoſed to employ, had often proved ſucceſsful in quelling Iriſh inſurrections, when the danger was encountered with reſolution and vigour. But the lords-juſtices, who now held the reins of government, ſeemed determined againſt every ſpirited meaſure. They excuſed themſelves by alleging the want of arms; a pretence which was generally known to be deſtitute of foundation. Some imputed their conduct to timidity, and a ſolicitude for protecting their poſſeſſions in the capital.

[a] Temple.

Others entertained suspicion that they envied the earl of Ormond, and dreaded lest his success should be rewarded with the lieutenancy of Ireland. Those who were intimately acquainted with their characters and principles, conceived that they by no means wished to crush the rebellion in its beginning, but were secretly desirous that it should proceed to such a length, as to gratify their avarice with extensive forfeitures; while some scrupled not to insinuate, that they acted by directions from the ruling faction in England.

Whatever were their motives, they remained in a state of inactivity. In the mean time the Irish inhabitants of the county of Leitrim, provoked at the extensive English plantation formed on their lands, soon followed the example of the Northerns. The sept of O'Byrne, in the county of Wicklow, still smarting with the remembrance of the persecution they had sustained from Parsons, united with their Irish neighbours in the adjoining counties of Wexford and Carlow. They possessed themselves of forts, drove the English Protestants from their dwellings, and extended their ravages to the walls of Dublin. In Munster, sir William Saint Leger, the lord-president, could not obtain either arms or soldiers sufficient for a time of peace, much less for a juncture of such commotion; notwithstanding which, the strength of the English Protestants, and the loyalty of the Irish gentry, preserved this province from any material disorder. The security of Connaught was equally neglected by the chief-governors; yet here too the good affections of the principal inhabitants stemmed the torrent of rebellion [b].

The lords-justices, in the assurance of receiving succours from England, ventured even to recall those arms which they had entrusted to the nobles and inhabitants of the Pale; and while they thus left them defenceless, they deprived the best affected of all hopes of refuge from the violence of the insurgents. For, by a new proclamation, they commanded all persons, except the ordinary inhabitants, on pain of death, to depart from Dublin within twenty-four hours, and not to presume to approach within two miles of the city. The pretence for this rigorous prohibition was, that, by the great concourse to the capital, the country was deprived of defence. The consequence of this measure was, that the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts were forced to a perpetual intercourse with the rebels, to support them by contributions,

[b] Ware.

and sometimes to unite with them, in order to avert their cruelty.

In another instance, the conduct of the present government was yet more suspicious. The English parliament had recommended the offer of a general pardon to such rebels as should submit within a certain time, to be limited by the lords-justices; but no proclamation was issued, nor any pardon offered, in consequence of these instructions. In apology for this omission, they pleaded the inefficacy of their former proclamations; one of which only called upon the rebels to disperse, without any positive assurance of mercy; and the other offered a pardon, not to the rebels of Ulster, where the insurrection chiefly raged, but to those of Longford and Lowth, Meath and Westmeath; in the two last of which no body of rebels had appeared. In conformity to the general tenor of their conduct they obstinately opposed the sentiments of the wisest and most moderate of all parties in the kingdom, in one particular of great moment. When the rebellion broke forth, the Irish parliament, which had adjourned to November, was prorogued to the 24th day of February; a measure highly displeasing to the Catholics, who were impatient for those laws which were to confirm them in their lands, and dreaded lest this delay, with the increasing power of the popular party in England, might defeat the gracious intentions of the king. They urged, that in a time of danger, the national assembly should be immediately convened: their lawyers suggested that the prorogation was even illegal; and that, unless the houses should hold a meeting on the day to which they had been adjourned, the parliament would be in effect dissolved. The judges seemed to favour this opinion. The earl of Ormond, lord Dillon of Costello, and others of approved loyalty, contended for an immediate session and continuance of the parliament, as necessary for allaying the public discontents, and suppressing the rebellion.

The lords-justices, nevertheless, declared obstinately for adhering to the prorogation; but at length, admitted that the parliament should be suffered to meet immediately, for one day, on condition of publishing a protestation against the rebels. The assembly being accordingly convened, the houses proceeded to consider the state of the nation, and to frame their protestation against the rebels. The leaders of the insurrection affected the utmost indignation at this title, and declared against describing the insurgents by any more offensive terms, than that of the Discontented Gentlemen. But the protestant party was spirited

spirited and powerful; and by their support, the declaration of parliament was drawn up with sufficient force and precision f.

They next proceeded to nominate some members of each house to treat with the insurgents. They were authorised to confer with the rebels of Ulster, and other parts, touching the causes of their taking arms: and to report all matters to the king, the council, or the parliament. These proceedings could not be completed in one day; a second was, with difficulty, allowed. They petitioned for a longer session, but the lords-justices were inexorable. The latter, indeed, promised that the term of prorogation should be shortened; but determined, by practising in England, to elude the performance of this promise. The parliament was provoked; men of all denominations clamoured against this obstinacy, which betrayed a general suspicion of the Irish, and a contempt of their services. It was resolved to assist the governors even against their will. The parliament empowered them to collect forces, and to assess and levy money for their support.

At the same time, a considerable party, well-affected to the king, resolved to convey their sentiments to the royal ear, without the intervention of the chief-governors, whom they despised and suspected. The lord Dillon of Costello was commissioned to present to the king their memorial, containing heavy complaints against the lords-justices, and recommending that the earl of Ormond should be substituted in their place. It is probable that they also recommended a speedy confirmation of those graces which were to secure the civil interests of the Irish subjects; with other measures for restoring public peace, not entirely agreeable to the views of their present governors, or those of the popular party in England.

The lords-justices were alarmed at this design, and determined to counteract it. For this purpose, their agent was dispatched to the leaders in the English parliament. In a private letter to the earl of Leicester, signed only by themselves and their junto, they desired that no attention should be paid to the representation of lord Dillon, or to any counsels tending to possess the king with a persuasion, that his Irish subjects were sufficient to reduce the rebels, a work only to be effected by English forces. These representations determined the fate of lord Dillon's embassy. He embarked with the lord Taafe, and was driven

f Ware.

by ſtorm to the coaſt of Scotland; whence he haſted towards London; but was ſeized at Ware, by order of the commons, his papers taken from him, and induſtriouſly ſuppreſſed. The two lords were detained in cuſtody, until their impriſonment was no longer of any conſequence; when, being negligently guarded, they contrived to eſcape, and reſorted to the king at York, too late to offer their propoſitions [s].

Meanwhile the rebel-leaders were induſtrious to improve the advantage which they had gained by the prorogation. Roger Moore, who, with Brian Mac Mahon, an Iriſh commander of ſome note, lay near Dundalk, at the head of about two thouſand five hundred ill-armed men, was particularly elevated at the proſpect of general diſcontent, ariſing from the conduct of the lords-juſtices. The deputation of the parliament addreſſed themſelves to him and his aſſociates. He received them with coldneſs and diſdain. The order of the two houſes for the treaty with the rebels he tore in pieces, with an affected indignation at the terms in which it was expreſſed; and proudly rejected every overture towards an accommodation. The government even condeſcended to employ ſome Romiſh prieſts to mediate a peace; but without any good effect. Moore, the great leader of the rebels, now redoubled his aſſiduity. He adviſed them to reſt entirely on the civil and religious rights of the king's ſubjects of Ireland. He pointed out the danger which particularly threatened their religion. He now dignified his followers by the appellation of the Catholic army; and publiſhed an oath of aſſociation to be taken by all inſurgents.

The rebels were not leſs encouraged by the delay of the Engliſh ſuccours, and the ſhameful timidity of the lords-juſtices. The latter ſhrunk within their walls, and quietly beheld thoſe depredations which had been committed through the whole vicinity of the capital. But at length, by repeated inſults, they were forced to ſome exertion of their power. Sir Charles Coote, a ſoldier of fortune, and an inveterate enemy of the Iriſh, was employed to drive ſome of the inſurgents of Leinſter from the caſtle of Wicklow, which they had inveſted. He executed his commiſſion with ſucceſs; repelled the Iriſh to their mountains; and, in revenge of their depredations, committed ſuch indiſcriminate carnage in the town, as rivalled the exceſſes of the Northerns. But this wanton cruelty ſerved only to exaſperate the rebels, and to provoke them to re-

[s] Carte.

vere

vere retaliation. They assembled a considerable force to form the siege of Drogheda. Their numbers, though including many disaffected to their cause, struck a general terror. A small body of six hundred foot and fifty horse, composed principally of the despoiled English, was detached from Dublin to reinforce the garrison at Drogheda. About three miles from the town, they were suddenly encountered by two thousand five hundred of the rebels, and defeated with an inconsiderable loss, except of arms and ammunition. This incident, however unimportant, gave reputation to the rebels, and added greatly to their numbers. They no longer doubted of reducing Drogheda, and marching with their united forces to invest the capital. Whole regiments of the royal army deserted, and joined their standards. The English inhabitants in Dublin were thrown into consternation. But while the rebels ought to have marched directly thither, they amused themselves with investing Drogheda. The lords-justices, in their terror, recalled sir Charles Coote from his expedition into Wicklow. He forced his way through one thousand of the sept of O'Toole, who opposed his march; returned, was appointed governor of Dublin, and applied himself to secure the city from any attack.

The rebellion, however formidable, had hitherto been confined to the province of Ulster, and some few counties in Leinster, and that of Leitrim in Connaught; and carried on entirely by the Irish. But in the beginning of December, a more extensive and alarming scene was opened, by the defection of the inhabitants of the English Pale. These also had their prejudices and discontents, and were regarded with suspicion by the lords-justices. To determine them to take arms, Roger Moore employed his whole address, particularly with lord Gormanston, a nobleman of great power and influence. He represented the danger which threatened their civil and religious rights; the obstinate determination of a puritanic faction to frustrate all the king's gracious intentions towards his Irish subjects; the inveteracy they expressed against all Catholics; and the injurious exclusion of Irish students from the inns of court. He inveighed, with a well-affected disdain, against the insolence and tyranny of the lords-justices, who exercised their power only for their own emolument, and to gratify the passions of an English faction. These representations made, at length, an impression on the inhabitants of the Pale. Lord Gormanston, who took the lead in their proceedings, issued an order

order to the ſheriff of Meath to collect the inhabitants of that county. Several lords, with about a thouſand gentlemen of note, aſſembled on an eminence called the Hill of Croſty. Here they were met, agreeably to the plan concerted by Moore, and other rebel-leaders, attended with a detachment of their forces. The people of Meath advanced; and Gormanſton, with great ſolemnity, demanded for what purpoſe they had entered the Pale in arms? Moore replied, that they had taken arms for the maintenance of the king's prerogative, and to aſſert the freedom of their country. He was again required to declare, whether theſe were their real motives, without any private or ſiniſter views. On his earneſt aſſeveration of ſincerity, Gormanſton and his party declared, that they would unite with them for theſe purpoſes, and proſecute, as enemies, all thoſe who ſhould refuſe to aſſiſt their righteous cauſe [h].

In conſequence of this confederacy, the catholic lords determined to renounce the authority of government; but in order to juſtify their revolt, it was thought neceſſary to tranſmit an apology to the king. This being done, they proceeded to raiſe their forces. Lord Gormanſton was declared their general in chief; and the earl of Fingal, general of horſe. The lords-juſtices affected to deſpiſe the defection of theſe lords of the Pale, as an event of no moment. The latter did not, indeed, at once ruſh into the outrageous conduct of the northern inſurgents; they did not even join the ſtandard of Roger Moore, and his barbarous aſſociates. They profeſſed to take arms ſolely in ſelf-defence; to wiſh, and to ſolicit a ſpeedy and effectual accommodation. But by this apparent candour they made a dangerous impreſſion on all the Catholics of Ireland. The contagion of revolt was quickly ſpread through the province of Connaught; ſo that it required all the credit and power of the earl of Clanricarde to preſerve his county of Galway untainted [i]. In Munſter, the firſt ſymptoms of commotion were ſome petty ravages and robberies, which were puniſhed by the lord-preſident, ſir William Saint Leger, with a barbarous ſeverity. The diſaffected remonſtrated to Saint Leger on the rigour of his executions, pleaded the neceſſity of ſelf-defence, and declared for war. Almoſt every fort and caſtle in the counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary, were in a few days reduced; while the county of Clare was over-

[h] Uſher. Davis. [i] Temple.

run

run by the O'Brians, in defiance of their chieftain, the earl of Thomond.

Amidst these commotions in the South, the leaders of the insurrection expressed a solicitude to preserve both the persons and properties of the English from any outrage; but the barbarity of their followers was not always effectually restrained. Nor were the excesses committed by Saint Leger and his train, less enormous than those of the Irish. But, happily for the English interest, the leaders of the insurgents were seized all on a sudden with a spirit of discontent. The lord viscount Roche and Fermoy, a nobleman of considerable power in the county of Cork, refused to be commanded by Mountgarret, and insisted that his county should have its particular general. Lord Mountgarret retired in disgust to the county of Kilkenny; while the nobles of Munster, left to their own conduct, continued their dissensions, and Saint Leger gained time to collect and discipline his troops.

During these transactions in the South, the Ulster rebels, and those from Leinster who had united with them, were entirely occupied in the siege of Drogheda, the success of which enterprize they considered as in a great measure decisive of the fate of Ireland. The town was neither strong nor well provided. Sir Faithful Fortescue, the governor, discouraged by a disappointment of supplies, resigned his command, and was succeeded by sir Henry Tichburne, an adventurous officer; under whom, however, the garrison was still thought incompetent for the defence of the place. Happily, the Irish army commenced their enterprizes in a severe season, with neither skill nor provisions sufficient for the regular conduct of a siege. They wanted artillery, ammunition, and all the necessary instruments of war. They had no tents to cover their men from the inclemency of the winter; and were, therefore, forced to quarter their army in the neighbouring villages, and to wait any opportunity which chance might afford them, to surprise the town. This disposition was sufficient to reduce the garrison to great distress, and determine many to desert. At length a small supply of victuals and ammunition arrived from Dublin; which enabled the governor to maintain the town, until a fresh supply of bread, and four companies of foot, were sent to his relief.

Meanwhile, the lord-justices were employed on an object, to them more interesting than the relief of Drogheda; the conviction of the lords and gentlemen engaged in the rebellion; a measure previously necessary to the forfeiture

feiture of their eſtates [h]. The arrival of ſir Simon Harcourt from England, with a regiment of eleven hundred men, ſerved to render them a little more active in their military operations. Coote was ſent to diſpoſſeſs a party of rebels ſtationed in the village of Swords. Having ſucceeded in his enterprize, he fulfilled the commands of the government, by giving looſe to devaſtation, and, in the execution of martial law, was actuated more by private reſentments than the neceſſity of the public ſervice. Ormond was detached with two thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, againſt the town of Naas, where the rebels of Kildare, and the adjacent counties, collected their principal force. He executed his commiſſion with more humanity and prudence than Coote, yet with a ſeverity ſufficient to afford the rebel-leaders a pretence for complaint. Lord Gormanſton remonſtrated by letter againſt the cruelty of his procedure; which if continued, he threatened to retaliate on the earl's wife and children. The reply of Ormond is worthy to be recorded: he reproached Gormanſton with his diſloyalty; vindicated his own conduct from falſe aſperſions; declaring his reſolution of proſecuting the rebels at the hazard of every thing dear to him. "My wife and children," ſaid he, "are in your power. Should they receive any injury from men, I ſhall never revenge it on women and children. This would be not only baſe and unchriſtian, but infinitely beneath the value of what I rate my wife and children."

Ormond was again commiſſioned to drive the rebels from a ſtation called Kilſalaghen, within ſeven miles of Dublin. His orders were to burn and deſtroy their haunts, and to kill all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms; but he proceeded with moderation.

The army, in conſequence of a ſecond reinforcement of fifteen hundred foot, and four hundred horſe, from England, was now deemed ſtrong enough to raiſe the blockade of Drogheda; but the lords-juſtices were ſtill averſe to vigorous operations. It was reſolved, therefore, inſtead of making a formal attempt to relieve Drogheda, to try the effect of a diverſion. The earl of Ormond was detached, with three thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, towards the river Boyne, to proſecute the rebels with fire and ſword. Eight days only were allowed for this expedition; and he was ſtrictly enjoined not to paſs the river. Scarcely had the lords-juſtices granted this commiſſion, when they repented; and employed their

[h] Carte.

agent,

agent, but in vain, to perſuade the earl to relinquiſh the enterprize, and commit the troops to the direction of ſir Simon Harcourt. Whatever were the pretences of the chief governors, the only danger they really apprehended, was that of too quickly ſuppreſſing the rebellion. Sir Phelim O'Nial, on the very firſt intelligence of Ormond's march, determined to raiſe the ſiege, and retire precipitately to the northern province. This unexpected event was conveyed to Ormond by the lords-juſtices. He repreſented the neceſſity of purſuing the rebels vigorouſly in their preſent conſternation; and deſired, for this purpoſe, that his commiſſion might be enlarged. The lords-juſtices and their creatures received this requeſt with evident marks of vexation. They repeated the injunction, that he ſhould not paſs the Boyne; but without ſo much as hinting at any reaſon for this unaccountable reſtriction. On his arrival at Drogheda, he conferred with the officers of the garriſon; with whoſe concurrence he made another effort to be permitted to confirm the overthrow of the rebels, by a vigorous purſuit; but the lords-juſtices remained inflexible. The rebels, on recovering from their conſternation, regained the places they had abandoned; ſo that ſir Henry Tichburne was obliged, on the return of Ormond, to exert his utmoſt vigour to prevent Drogheda from being again inveſted. He defeated a conſiderable party of the enemy near Athirdee; after which, marching to Dundalk, he drove the rebels from that town. The juſtices condeſcended to permit the earl to furniſh him on this occaſion with five hundred men; but denied him the proviſions neceſſary for purſuing his advantage [c].

Extenſive forfeitures were the favourite object of the chief governors and their friends. The commons of England had very early petitioned, that the king would not alienate any of the eſcheated lands, that might accrue to the crown from the Iriſh rebellion; and they had lately proceeded in a ſcheme for raiſing money from the lands thus expected to eſcheate. A bill was framed for repaying thoſe who ſhould advance certain ſums, for ſuppreſſion of the rebels (as was pretended), by inveſting them with proportionable eſtates in Ireland, on terms highly advantageous to the lenders. This meaſure evidently tended to exaſperate the malcontents, and to make all accommodation deſperate; but it was not on this account leſs acceptable to the popular leaders. The king foreſaw

[c] Carte.

and

and regretted theſe conſequences; but he was now reduced to a humiliating ſtate of ſubmiſſion, and conſented to a bill which gave ſtrength to his opponents. Their creatures in the adminiſtration of Ireland proceeded, in the mean time, indefatigably in procuring indictments, not only againſt open rebels, but thoſe whoſe conduct had been any degree ſuſpicious; and the fury of their proſecutions fell principally upon the gentlemen of the Pale.

Such as had not engaged in actual hoſtilities, and were only accuſed of harbouring, or paying contributions to the rebels, crowded to the earl of Ormond, and claimed the advantage of the royal proclamation; but the lords-juſtices, who not only favoured the deſigns of their friends in England, but expected to have their own ſervices rewarded by a large portion of forfeitures, reſolved to diſcourage theſe pacific diſpoſitions. Ormond was directed to make no diſtinction between noblemen and other rebels, and to contrive that they ſhould be ſeized by the ſoldiers, without admitting them to his preſence. They who were ſent in cuſtody to Dublin, though men of reſpectable families and characters, engaged in no confederacy with the rebels, and ſome of them even ſufferers by their rapine, were all indiſcriminately denied acceſs to the juſtices, and cloſely impriſoned [n].

The civil war between Charles and his parliament was now on the point of flaming out with all its violence; and all his adverſaries redoubled their aſſiduity to alienate the affections of the people from this unhappy prince. To deface the impreſſion made by his declarations of zeal for extinguiſhing the Iriſh rebellion, a bold effort was projected, to revive the rumour of ſome commiſſion clandeſtinely granted to the rebels. In this deep ſtratagem the Iriſh chief governors were willing agents. They were, at the ſame time, impatient for ſome diſcoveries relative to the extent of the original conſpiracy, and, if poſſible, to involve the principal families of the Pale in the guilt of concerting the inſurrection. For theſe purpoſes, they reſolved to ſupply the want of legal evidence, by putting ſome priſoners to the rack. The firſt on whom they practiſed this expedient, was Hugh Mac Mahon, who had been ſeized on the information of O'Connoly, and from whom they expected ſome important diſcoveries. But even torture could force nothing from him eſſential to their purpoſe. The next on whom they made the experiment, was ſir John Read, who had been gentleman of

[n] Cox.

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the privy-chamber to the king, and a lieutenant-colonel in the army raised against the Scots. He was importuned on the rack with such interrogatories as tended to criminate his royal master; but the malice of the justices was again disappointed. They proceeded, however, to practise upon another victim, Patrick Burnewal, a man of a respectable character, and venerable for his age. His only guilt was, that he had attended the meeting at the Hill of Crofty, and been appointed by the insurgents to a command, of which he never took possession. He endured the torture with such fortitude, and so steady an avowal of his innocence, that the justices were ashamed of their cruelty; and, as some compensation to the unhappy gentleman, he was permited to reside in Dublin, and his estate protected from the general havock of the soldiery.

Such parts of these examinations as the justices thought fit to select, were carefully transmitted to their friends in England, where rumours were industriously spread abroad, that secrets of great moment, and which highly reflected on the king's honour, had been discovered. Though no particulars were divulged, and none of the king's friends in either kingdom could be admitted to the view of these examinations, the people, in general, did not perceive that this extraordinary reserve afforded the strongest proof of no charge of authorising or countenancing the rebels having been established against Charles. It was natural for the king, on this occasion, to express the greater zeal for the service of his good subjects of Ireland. By a message to the two houses of parliament, he formally intimated a resolution of going with all convenient speed to Ireland, to chastise the rebels; and even of selling or pledging his parks and houses, if necessary, for this service. The lords-justices were alarmed, and exerted every means of dissuading his majesty from that design. They represented, in the strongest colours, the weakness and distresses of the army of Ireland, where, they plainly insinuated, that the king could not appear with safety to his person. But whatever attention this unfortunate monarch might have paid to these representations, his conduct was derermined by the peremptory and menacing answer of the English parliament, which insisted on his relinquishing all thoughts of that expedition.

The last hopes which the gentlemen of the Pale entertained of an accommodation with the government, were from the expectation of the king's presence in Ireland; but

but this proſpect being now annihilated, they became deſperate, and relied ſolely on the ſucceſs of their arms[q]. Being abandoned by their Ulſter confederates, they united with lord Mountgarret and his aſſociates. The earl of Ormond, with three thouſand foot, five hundred horſe, and five field-pieces, was detached into the county of Kildare, to deſtroy the poſſeſſions of the rebels; to relieve the caſtles ſtill inveſted by their ſcattered parties, and to ſtrengthen the loyal garriſons; for ſuch were the petty expeditions which ſuited the genius and views of the chief governors. On his return to Athy, he received intelligence, that Mountgarret, attended by Roger Moore, and other rebel-leaders, lay at the head of eight thouſand foot, and ſome troops of horſe, advantageouſly poſted, at the diſtance of four miles. In a council of war, ſummoned by Ormond, it was reſolved, that, as the forces of the government were diminiſhed by ſupplying garriſons, and ill-provided, they ſhould by no means hazard an engagement, unleſs the enemy oppoſed their march to Dublin. They proceeded on their route with the neceſſary precautions, and were ſo cloſely preſſed by the rebels, that an action became unavoidable. The onſet of the Iriſh was deſperate, but ill-maintained. Their left wing was broken by the firſt charge. Their right, animated by their principal leaders, ſupported the conteſt for ſome time; but were at length broken, and fled precipitately. Seven hundred of their number were killed, with an inconſiderable loſs on the part of Ormond; who, however, had, neither proviſions nor ammunition neceſſary for improving his victory. When an account of this action, called the battle of Kilruſh, was tranſmitted to the Engliſh commons, they ordered that five hundred pounds ſhould be expended on a jewel to be beſtowed on the earl of Ormond; and that the lords ſhould be moved to unite with them in a petition to the king, that his majeſty would be pleaſed to create him a knight of the Garter.

[q] Cox.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

From the Battle of Kilruſh, to the Departure of the Marquis of Ormond.

NOTWITHSTANDING the defeat at Kilruſh, the power of the rebels was ſtill conſiderable in the northern province. The civil commotions in England, and, poſſibly, the artifice of popular leaders, who wiſhed to foment the Iriſh inſurrection, protracted the treaty for ſending Scottiſh forces into Ireland. At length, however, it was reſolved to accept the aſſiſtance of Scotland. Two thouſand five hundred men were deſtined for the immediate ſervice of Ulſter. On their arrival, the town and caſtle of Carricfergus were to be ſurrendered into their hands; and when the number which remained of the ten thouſand ſtipulated with the Scottiſh commiſſioners ſhould land in Ulſter, they were likewiſe to be put in poſſeſſion of the town and caſtle of Colerain. To do the greater honour to theſe auxiliaries, the ſole conduct of the northern war was committed to the Scottiſh generals. A.D. 1642.

The firſt detachment landed at Carricfergus about the middle of April; and their commander, Robert Monro, was inſtantly joined by about eighteen hundred foot, and ſeven troops of cavalry, of the provincial forces. The whole body advanced to the town of Newry, which, at their approach, the rebels abandoned; and the reduction of the caſtle was ſpeedily effected. That of Carlingford was delivered up to ſir Henry Tichburne. The tumultuary followers of the rebel-leaders ſhrunk, with their uſual inſtability, from the firſt appearance of danger. Sir Phelim O'Nial, finding it neceſſary to abandon Armagh, in the rage of diſappointment ſet fire to the town, while his barbarous adherents wrecked their reſentment on the unhappy Engliſh who were in their power. O'Nial retired to Charlemont; but, being deſtitute of ammunition, had little hope of maintaining that poſt. Many of his followers fled to the faſtneſſes of Tirone; and even ſeveral diſtinguiſhed rebel-leaders ſought for refuge in different retreats.

Monro was earneſtly preſſed to ſeize the advantage of this general conſternation of the rebels, but was reſtrained from purſuing it by his ſecret inſtructions. Having put ſixty men and eighteen women to death at Newry, he

left three hundred men to garrison the town, and returned to Carrickfergus; whence he again made an excursion into the county of Antrim, where he insidiously seized the earl of that name, and committed his castle and all his houses to the custody of the Scottish forces.

The rebels, encouraged by the inactivity, or feeble exertions of their antagonists, again collected their forces; while the charge of opposing them devolved on the English forces of Ulster, as they were totally employed in ravaging the adjacent districts, and exporting vast herds of cattle into Scotland. Sir Phelim O'Nial appeared once more at the head of an army; but was bravely encountered by sir Robert and sir William Stuart, two English commanders, who put the rebels to flight, after killing five hundred of their men, wounding, and making a number of prisoners.

The rebels became daily more dispirited by their ill-success, and in want of every necessary for the prosecution of their enterprize. They had even formed the resolution to abandon a cause rendered desperate by repeated defeats and disappointments, and to fly to foreign countries, from the rage of their victorious enemy. In this moment of despondency, intelligence was received that Owen O'Nial, whose arrival had been so long expected, was, after a tedious voyage from Dunkirk, landed in the county of Donnegal, with one hundred officers, and a considerable supply of arms and ammunition. Their hopes instantly revived; and a body of forces, appointed to attend their favourite general, conducted him in triumph to the fort of Charlemont. This officer had served in the Imperial and Spanish armies with reputation; and his sobriety and prudence appeared to greater advantage, when contrasted by the intemperance and levity of his kinsman sir Phelim, who had now the mortification to see himself superseded in the command of the northern Irish.

The new general began with expressing his detestation of those barbarities exercised by sir Phelim O'Nial and his followers; and he dismissed the remains of their prisoners in safety to Dundalk. As he expected to be besieged in Charlemont, he proceeded to make every preparation necessary for defence. But the Scottish forces still lay inactive, and the English were not permitted to attack him; so that he had full leisure to collect and discipline his men. In the month of August the earl of Leven arrived, with the Scottish army, of ten thousand men. The whole force

force of the province amounted to twenty thousand foot and one thousand horse; a force so apparently irresistible, that Leven, who had the sole command, seemed to have nothing more to do than receive the submissions of the rebels. He passed the Bann, and advanced into the county of Tirone; whence he addressed a letter to Owen O'Nial, regretting that a man of his reputation should engage in the support of so bad a cause. Owen replied, that he had better reason for coming to the relief of his country, than his lordship could plead for marching into England against his king. As if this short correspondence had been the sole object of Leven's march, that nobleman again retired, and resigning the command to Monro, returned to Scotland. Monro remained inactive; O'Nial continued to form his army; while that which should oppose him, Scottish and English, was alike neglected by England, and soon exposed to all the miseries of nakedness and famine. To increase the confidence of the rebels, a second, and more important embarkation, was made from Dunkirk. Wexford was in their possession. Two vessels, laden with arms and ammunition, first arrived in the port. Colonel Thomas Preston, brother of lord Gormanston, a soldier of experience and reputation, soon followed in a ship of war, attended by two frigates, and six other vessels laden with ordnance, and other warlike provisions, five hundred officers, and a considerable number of engineers. Twelve other vessels, fitted out at Nantes, St. Maloes, and Rochelle, soon arrived with artillery, arms, and ammunition, beside a considerable number of Irish officers, and veteran soldiers from the French service [c].

While the English laboured under various wants and distresses, the rebels were plentifully supplied with every necessary for war. It was expected that they would immediately proceed to some vigorous operations; but they were, at present, engaged in the prosecution of a scheme, calculated to give a form of authority to their proceedings, and to unite their associates in the several provinces under a regular subordination. For this purpose, the influence of the clergy was employed, and a general synod convened of all the Romish ecclesiastics of Ireland, which sat at Kilkenny in the month of May. This assembly opened with a declaration that the war maintained by the Catholics was lawful and necessary. It directed that all their confederates should be united by an oath of association; and de-

[c] Davis.

nounced ſentence of excommunication on all who ſhould refuſe to take it; againſt all who aſſiſted the enemy, all who ſhould invade the poſſeſſions of any Catholic, and even againſt all neuters. The nobility and gentry then reſident in Kilkenny, united with them in framing the oath of aſſociation, and in appointing a general aſſembly of the nation, to meet in that city in the enſuing month of October.

When the time for this convention arrived, the popiſh lords, prelates, and clergy, with popiſh deputies from the ſeveral counties and principal towns of every province, aſſembled at Kilkenny. The aſſembly was formed on the plan of a parliament, and conſiſted of two houſes, one compoſed of temporal peers and prelates; the other of repreſentatives deputed by counties and cities; but both ſat in the ſame chamber.

They began with declaring their reſolution to maintain the rights and immunities of the Roman catholic church, agreeably to the great charter. The common law of England, and ſtatutes of Ireland, they profeſſed to accept as their rule of government, ſo far as they were conſiſtent with the Romiſh religion, and the liberties of their country. They commanded all perſons to bear allegiance to the king, and to maintain his juſt prerogatives. They aſſumed to themſelves the adminiſtration of public juſtice, and appointed in the different counties other courts with ſubordinate juriſdictions. Having adjuſted the civil government, they proceeded to the choice of provincial generals. But, amidſt all theſe arrangements, their proceedings were not free from inconſiſtency. Scarcely had they ſworn to maintain the king's prerogative, when they betrayed an open and outrageous violation of it, by aſſuming a power of regulating the coin, and raiſing its value. To demonſtrate their pacific diſpoſitions, they prepared two petitions to be preſented to the king and queen; at the ſame time that they diſpatched ambaſſadors to ſolicit ſuccours from foreign courts.

The aſſembly of confederate Iriſh, notwithſtanding their general unanimity, felt their ſecret diſſenſions and mortifications. The more moderate among them affected to abhor the cruelty of the original inſurrection; and therefore, in the diſpoſal of their offices, ſeveral of the firſt conſpirators were purpoſely neglected. Sir Phelim O'Nial was diſappointed and provoked: even Roger Moore found his zealous ſervices unrewarded, though, for the preſent, he was treated with marks of attention; and his death,

which happened ſoon after, was an incident probably not diſpleaſing to the confederates. To their great mortification, Clanricarde ſteadily rejected all their overtures; but, to conſole them for this diſappointment, they now gained an aſſociate, of dignity and conſequence, in the perſon of Touchet, earl of Caſtlehaven, and baron Audley of England.

While the confederacy of the Iriſh was thus gaining ſtrength, the Engliſh were divided in affection and intereſt, by the conteſt in the neighbouring kingdom [c]. The governors and their creatures zealouſly engaged on the ſide of the parliament; the army, influenced by the earl of Ormond, for the moſt part favoured the king. From the moment that a civil war appeared unavoidable, the parliament was ſolicitous to eſtabliſh an intereſt in Ireland; where their agents endeavoured to perſuade the officers of the army to ſign a petition to his majeſty, beſeeching him to comply with his parliament. This application, however, was oppoſed by the earl of Ormond, whom the juſtices, on their part, ſeized every occaſion of mortifying. The king laboured to gain the army of Ireland, by his favours to the general; while the parliament, ſtill more aſſiduous, endeavoured not only to ſecure an intereſt in the ſoldiery, but to direct the whole adminiſtration of this kingdom. Two members of the Engliſh commons, men experienced in the artifices of faction, were ſent for this purpoſe to Dublin, where they met with zealous partizans in the lords-juſtices, and their creatures of the council. Inſtead of acting againſt the enemy, theſe men were ſolely intent on embarraſſing and mortifying thoſe who were attached to the king; and every meaſure was purſued to render the marquis of Ormond diſſatisfied with his command. It was a matter of importance to the lords-juſtices, and their party, that no accounts of the affairs of Ireland ſhould be tranſmitted either to the king or the Engliſh parliament, but through the medium of their own repreſentations; but this policy was at length defeated by the bold and ſpirited conduct of the royaliſts; though the ſituation of Charles was ſuch, that he could not avail himſelf of their attachment. It was neceſſary for him, however, to ſmooth the way to a treaty, which might enable him to draw ſome aſſiſtance from Ireland. But as any violent change in the Iriſh adminiſtration might raiſe a clamour among his enemies in Eng-

[c] Davis.

land, he contented himſelf, for the preſent, with removing Parſons, in whoſe place was appointed ſir Henry Tichburne, a man of unexceptionable character, and devoted to the king's ſervice.

This change of government was ſoon followed by an order to the marquis of Ormond, to treat about a ceſſation of arms with the rebels; a meaſure which the ſituation of affairs in Ireland rendered highly expedient. The affair, however, was delicate, and required to be managed with addreſs. For the honour of the king, it was neceſſary that the firſt overture for a ceſſation ſhould be made by the rebels; and for this purpoſe, Ormond employed his agents to confer with the aſſembly at Kilkenny. The Iriſh clergy, who derived extravagant hopes from the confuſion of the kingdom, were averſe to every meaſure of pacification; but they were, as yet, over-ruled by the more intelligent and temperate of their party. They agreed to a ceſſation of twelve months, on certain conditions, to be propoſed by their agents to the marquis of Ormond.

As a preliminary to their conference, it was expected on the part of the Iriſh, that they ſhould have a new and free parliament, the legality of the preſent being diſputed. On the other hand, it was highly dangerous to ſummon a new parliament, while the confederate Iriſh were maſters of moſt of the counties and great towns, and had the elections abſolutely in their power. Ormond, therefore, thought it neceſſary to declare, that he had no aſſurances from the king, that a new parliament ſhould be convened, but that in this point the confederates muſt rely entirely upon his majeſty's gracious pleaſure. He demanded, as a preliminary on his part, that, if the ceſſation took place, the confederates ſhould contribute, in ſome reaſonable proportion, to the maintenance of the king's troops in Ireland. At laſt, they not only conſented to recede from their expectations of a new parliament, but agreed, in general, to the propoſition of a ſupply. Ormond, who was ſenſible how diſagreeable this treaty muſt prove to the parliamentarians of England, and how ſeverely his conduct would be ſcrutinized by their partizans in Dublin, applied to the privy-council; and moved, that, if the members of this board judged a ceſſation to be diſhonourable to the king, or dangerous to his proteſtant ſubjects of Ireland, they ſhould ſignify their opinion to his majeſty, and propoſe ſome other means for the preſervation of the kingdom; in which caſe, he agreed to proceed no farther, but

at his own peril to break off the treaty of ceſſation. When no other expedient could be deviſed, he moved, that, if ten thouſand pounds might be raiſed, one half in money, the other in victuals, he would proſecute the war, and endeavour to reduce Wexford. The magiſtrates and citizens of Dublin pronounced it impoſſible to raiſe ſuch a ſupply; and the marquis, therefore, proceeded to meet the Iriſh agents at Caſtle-Martyn, in the county of Kildare. Here he received them with the dignity of a ſuperior, and examined their propoſitions with freedom. They required, in the name of the confederates, that the exerciſe of their government ſhould continue during the ceſſation; and that a new parliament ſhould be convened; but the marquis rejected theſe demands. He deſired to be at liberty to uſe hoſtilities againſt the king's enemies; and that a way might be preſcribed to diſtinguiſh between the royal party and that of the malignants. To theſe particulars he declined giving any explicit anſwer. To ſome of their propoſitions he conſented, with ſome qualification or reſtriction; but, above all things, he demanded, previous to the ceſſation, a ſupply for the maintenance of the king's forces. They refuſed to bind themſelves by any previous ſtipulation, but declared their intentions to grant his majeſty a free gift, on concluſion of the truce [h].

Ormond ſuppoſed that their preſent confidence aroſe from the proſperous ſituation of their armies, and particularly from the ſucceſsful progreſs of Preſton, who had re-aſſembled his troops, taken ſeveral places, and overrun the province of Leinſter. Any advantage gained by the king's forces muſt abate their pride. He, therefore, determined to ſuſpend his negociations; and, if poſſible, to force Preſton to an engagement. But this general cautiouſly retired before him; while Ormond, not being ſufficiently provided for a purſuit, and dreading a famine, was obliged to lead his army back to Dublin; more confirmed than ever of the neceſſity of a ceſſation of hoſtilities.

Meanwhile, lord Caſtlehaven had taken ſeveral forts in the Queen's county, and that of Carlow. Owen O'Nial had advanced to Weſtmeath; Preſton extended his irruptions almoſt to the capital; and both were buſily employed in ſecuring the harveſt, and filling their magazines. The king's troops, from their diſtreſſes, grew ſo mutinous, that the country-people, who uſed to live under their protection, now fled from their outrages. Drogheda, Dundalk,

[h] Carte.

and other neighbouring garriſons, were ready to be abandoned through want. Monro refuſed to act againſt O'Nial. Monck and lord Moore were ſent to oppoſe him; but the latter of theſe was killed in a fruitleſs attack, and the former was forced to return to Dublin, for want of proviſions. In the remoter provinces the Iriſh enjoyed the ſame ſuperiority; and in Munſter particularly, the diſtreſſes of lord Inchiquin were extreme.

It was at length reſolved, that the agents of the confederates ſhould treat with the marquis of Ormond at Sigginſtown, near Naas. They appeared moderate and complying, and receded from the demand of an immediate diſſolution of parliament. The difficulties which aroſe about ſettling the quarters of both parties during the ceſſation, protracted the treaty for ſome time; but this point being adjuſted, the Iriſh agreed to grant the king thirty thouſand pounds, one half in money, to be paid by inſtalments, and the other in cattle. On the 15th day of September, the treaty was ſigned by the marquis and the Iriſh commiſſioners; it received the ratification of the juſtices and council; and was notified to the whole kingdom by a proclamation.

This treaty, however juſtified by the neceſſities of the king's affairs, was received with diſcontent and clamour, both in Ireland and the neighbouring kingdom. The Engliſh parliament, in particular, was provoked at an event, which deprived them of a popular pretence for raiſing money to ſupport their own conteſt. They who had declared to the Iriſh agents ſent to ſolicit relief, that, if five hundred pounds might ſave the kingdom, it could not be ſpared, now affected the utmoſt compaſſion for their proteſtant brethren of Ireland. New ſchemes of raiſing money for the Iriſh ſervice were deviſed; and the utmoſt indignation expreſſed by parliament, that the diſtreſſes of this kingdom ſhould be imputed to their neglect. Before they had received certain intelligence of the concluſion of the treaty, they iſſued a ſolemn declaration againſt a deſign ſo impious; in which they aſcribe the diſorders of both kingdoms to one cauſe, the horrid ſcheme of deſtroying the proteſtant religion.

The king avowed that the ceſſation was preparatory to a peace with the Iriſh[r]; to which meaſure, however, he declared againſt conſenting, on any other terms than ſuch as were conſiſtent with honour and juſtice. But his pre-

[r] Carte.

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ſent ſitnation forcibly tempted him to a relaxation of theſe principles. The zealous profeſſions of the Iriſh confederates, the aſſurances of powerful ſupport laviſhed by their agents in England, and the vigilance of Ormond in keeping the proteſtant forces of Leinſter firmly attached to the royal cauſe, all contributed to poſſeſs the king with confident expectations of aſſiſtance from an Iriſh army; and he had directed the marquis of Ormond, that, as ſoon as the ceſſation ſhould be concluded, he ſhould ſend over ſuch forces as could be ſpared. About two thouſand men were choſen from the Leinſter army; but proviſions for their embarkation were made with difficulty. They landed in North Wales; while lord Inchiquin, with equal difficulty, contrived to tranſport ſeveral regiments from Munſter, to the weſt of England. The troops thus deſtined to the king's ſervice were Proteſtants; many of them Engliſhmen by birth, who conſidered their return to their native country as a happy eſcape from the calamities which they had endured in Ireland. All of them were bound by a ſolemn oath to defend the proteſtant religion as eſtabliſhed in the church of England, and to maintain the king's perſon and prerogative againſt all his enemies, particularly the earl of Eſſex and his forces. But ſcarcely had the troops landed in Wales, when the whole country was alarmed with the dreadful intelligence of four thouſand Iriſh rebels, ſtill reeking with the blood of Proteſtants, now arrived on the coaſt, and impatient to extend their barbarous fury into England. Sir William Brereton, who commanded in thoſe parts for the parliament, was not aſhamed to tranſmit this intelligence to London, at the very time when, by his letters to the officers of theſe troops, he extolled their bravery in defence of the proteſtant religion, and laboured to ſeduce them from their attachment to the king. Brereton, as if he believed his own fiction, fled precipitately before the troops of Ireland. They were reinforced by thirteen hundred foot, and one hundred and forty horſe, ſent by the marquis of Ormond. Lord Byron, the general, iſſued from Cheſter, took ſome caſtles, routed Brereton, purſued him to Namptwich, and laid ſiege to the town. But here, after ſome ineffectual efforts, he was attacked and defeated by ſir Thomas Fairfax: almoſt all the principal officers were made priſoners, with twelve hundred private men. All the artillery, baggage, and ammunition of the army fell into the hands of the enemy. Byron, with the remainder of his troops, retired to Cheſter, where he was reinforced by ſome additional detachments from Ireland.

Ormond

Ormond was now appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and entered upon his government amidſt a variety of difficulties[k]. In the northern province, the Scottiſh general, Monro, diſclaimed the ceſſation. The Iriſh confederates, who commanded in moſt parts of the other provinces, were ſtill factious and turbulent. The ſubſidies they had engaged to pay were irregularly and ſlowly remitted: they infringed the articles of ceſſation, and committed various outrages; nor were the Engliſh ſufficiently reſtrained from plundering. Many diſputes aroſe about quarters; ſo that the attention of the chief governor was conſiderably engaged in hearing the accuſations, and compoſing the violences of each party. What was ſtill more alarming, when the king had expoſed himſelf to the odium of ſeeking aſſiſtance from the Iriſh, they, notwithſtanding their former magnificent promiſes, refuſed to ſend any forces into England; at the ſame time that they promiſed the emiſſaries of France and Spain, that levies ſhould be allowed for the ſervices of their reſpective courts. In vain did the marquis of Ormond urge the policy of ſending effectual aſſiſtance to the king. The confederates were unalterably poſſeſſed with a notion, that the encreaſing diſtreſſes of the king muſt oblige him to purchaſe their aſſiſtance, by more important conceſſions. Ormond, finding them inflexible, attempted to break their union; and, for this purpoſe, he deſired a power of granting pardons to ſuch as ſhould return to his majeſty's obedience. Though the demand was diſcovered to the confederates, who were not inſenſible of its dangerous tendency, Ormond proceeded in his deſign. He held a private correſpondence with ſome of their principal leaders, whom he endeavoured to gain to his intereſt, by flattering their ambition

But the affairs of Ulſter were the moſt embarraſſing to the chief governor. Owen O'Connoly, now the creature of the Engliſh parliament, had been made bearer of their letters to the Britiſh colonels in this province, recommending to them to diſclaim the ceſſation, and to take the covenant. On theſe conditions, they were aſſured of their arrears, and full proviſions for their future maintenance. The offer was extremely acceptable to Monro's officers, and thoſe of the old Scottiſh regiments, who were all eager for the covenant. The Engliſh regiments under the command of Ormond, were better affected to

[k] Carte.

the royal cauſe; but their neceſſities were urgent; and their hopes of relief lay only in complying with the orders of the parliament. Ormond urgently repreſented to them the iniquity of the covenant, and furniſhed them with a proclamation, iſſued by the Iriſh government, forbidding all perſons to tender or accept it; but, from their apprehenſions of the reſentment of the Scottiſh troops, and that of the Engliſh parliament, they refuſed to publiſh this proclamation at the head of their regiments. They contented themſelves with ſecretly perſevering in their attachment to the king; at the ſame time that they returned ſuch anſwers to the parliament, as might conciliate its favour, and procure ſome ſupplies.

While things were in this ſituation, ten thouſand pounds, ſome cloathing, and proviſions, were remitted to Monro from Scotland, with four miniſters of the kirk, to enforce and tender the covenant. Theſe miſſionaries travelled with indefatigable zeal through the ſeveral pariſhes of the counties of Downe and Antrim, and their doctrines were every where received with the greateſt ardor. Soldiers, officers, gentry, peaſants, all ranks were ſeized with the emulation of running foremoſt in a cauſe, which they conceived as ſo eſſential to their ſpiritual intereſts. The prohibitions and menaces of the government, and the proclamation, which ſome Engliſh colonels, at length, ventured to publiſh to their regiments, only ſerved to inflame the general fervor. Such was now the enthuſiaſm in favour of this holy engagement, that thoſe who refuſed it were conſidered as impious wretches, unworthy of the rights of humanity; nor would the inhabitants ſupply them with the neceſſaries of life. The power of the Engliſh parliament was employed to confirm theſe general prejudices of the people. A commiſſion, under its broad ſeal, was received by Monro, inveſting him with the command of all the forces of Ulſter, Engliſh as well as Scottiſh, and enjoining him to carry on the war againſt all the enemies of the covenanted party. The royaliſts aſſembled at Belfaſt to reſolve on an anſwer to be returned to the Scottiſh general, when he ſhould require them to ſubmit to his command. During their conſultation, Monro took the opportunity of ſurpriſing the town; whence he marched to take poſſeſſion of Liſburne, but was foiled in his attempt, by the vigilance and ſpirit of the Engliſh officers. While the Ulſter forces were thus on the point of commencing hoſtilities againſt each other, they were prevented from coming to that extremity

tremity by a ſeaſonable ſtipulation. It was agreed, that the Engliſh ſhould not be forced to take any oath contrary to their conſciences and the fundamental laws of Ireland, until they ſhould inform the Engliſh parliament of the reaſons and ſcruples by which they were actuated; and that their regiments ſhould be furniſhed with the ſame proviſions, and have the ſame privileges and appointments with the Scots. On thoſe conditions, they engaged to join with Monro in a vigorous proſecution of the Iriſh rebels, unleſs they ſhould be prohibited by his majeſty's command.

The ſeizure of Belfaſt, and the union of the Ulſter forces, were incidents extremely diſagreeable to the confederate Iriſh at Kilkenny, whoſe generals were divided by frivolous competitions[m]. While they detached Caſtlehaven to the aſſiſtance of Owen O'Nial, they made private overtures to the marquis of Ormond, that he ſhould accept the ſupreme command of all their forces, and march againſt the ſtubborn Northerns with the whole united power of the royaliſts; under which denomination they affected to include themſelves. They deſired, at the ſame time, that he ſhould proclaim the Scots rebels, on account of the infringement of the ceſſation. Ormond could not, conſiſtently with good policy, accept of theſe propoſals, though, on the other hand, he knew the great danger of diſobliging the Iriſh, on whom he very much depended for the ſupport of his army. He therefore reſolved, inſtead of returning a peremptory denial, to amuſe them with a treaty, tending to their own purpoſe, but in a different manner. He urged the want of authority from the king, without whoſe poſitive orders, he could not, with any propriety, declare againſt the Scots. Meanwhile, he propoſed that the Iriſh ſhould make proviſion for the payment and maintenance of ſix thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe of his majeſty's forces; with which body he engaged to reſtrain the Scots from violating the ceſſation, or annoying the provinces. Some time was neceſſarily ſpent in this negociation; and, during the interval, it appeared, that Monro, notwithſtanding his violent declarations, and ſome attempts to re-commence hoſtilities, was really either averſe, or unable, to proſecute the war with any vigour.

While the marquis of Ormond was contending with a variety of difficulties, ariſing from the exigencies of the

[m] Davis.

ſtate,

ſtate, the arrogance of the popiſh confederates, and the virulence of the northern covenanters, an Iriſh negociation of great importance was opened at Oxford. It had been agreed, by the articles of ceſſation, that the confederates ſhould ſend agents to the king, to treat about a final peace; an event on which Charles reſted his hopes of powerful reinforcement from Ireland. The commiſſioners of the popiſh party were choſen in November, 1643; but they did not appear before the king until the 23d day of the enſuing month of March. Their firſt propoſitions diſcovered the extravagance of their views. Beſide the eſtabliſhment of the popiſh worſhip, they demanded a repeal of the acts for encouragement of adventurers, which they muſt have been ſenſible that the king could not procure. They required that a ſtanding army ſhould be maintained in Ireland; and that their own ſupreme council ſhould be continued, until all their grievances were redreſſed by the parliament, and even for ſome time after. They inſiſted, that all offices, by which any titles to land were found for the crown, ſince the firſt year of Elizabeth, with all attainders ſince that period, and all grants and leaſes from the crown in conſequence of ſuch attainders, ſhould be reviewed in a free parliament. Their demands amounted, in effect, to the extinction of the Engliſh power in Ireland. The king and his miniſters, provoked at requiſitions ſo exorbitant, expreſſed a determination to break off all conference; when the Iriſh agents withdrew theſe obnoxious articles, and preſented others, which they termed moderate and reaſonable. Of the latter, the moſt important were, the free exerciſe of their religion, by a repeal of all penal ſtatutes; a free parliament, with a ſuſpenſion of Poynings' law, during its ſeſſion; the annulling all acts and ordinances of the Iriſh parliament ſince the 7th day of Auguſt, 1641, the date of that fatal prorogation, to which they imputed all the ſubſequent diſorders of the kingdom; the vacating all indictments, attainders, and outlawries, in prejudice of Iriſh catholics, ſince that time; a releaſe of debts, and general act of oblivion; the vacating all offices found for the king's title to lands ſince the year 1634; and an act of limitation for the ſecurity of eſtates; the eſtabliſhmen of an inn of court, and ſeminaries of education in Ireland, for the benefit of catholic ſubjects; and free and indiſcriminate appointment of all Iriſh natives, without exception, to places of truſt and honour; that no perſons not eſtated

and

and reſident in Ireland, ſhould vote in the parliament of this realm; that an act ſhould paſs, formally declaring the independency of their parliament on that of England; that the juriſdiction of the Iriſh privy-council ſhould be limited to matters of ſtate; that no chief governor ſhould be continued above three years; and that, during his government, he ſhould be diſqualified to purchaſe any lands in the kingdom, except from his majeſty. On the grant of theſe, and other propoſitions of leſs importance, they declared their readineſs to devote their lives and fortunes to the king's ſervice; and particularly, to contribute ten thouſand men towards ſuppreſſing the unnatural rebellion of England.

Whatever was the king's impatience for a peace, he found the progreſs of it grievouſly retarded, if not entirely precluded, by the unreaſonable demands of the Iriſh, and the contention of the popiſh and proteſtant parties[o]. He had directed that ſome experienced men ſhould be ſent from the privy-council of Ireland to aſſiſt at this treaty. They nominated archbiſhop Uſher, and eight others, of whom the king ſummoned four to his aſſiſtance. Meanwhile, a number of zealous proteſtants, not confiding in the nomination of the council, aſſembled at the houſe of the earl of Kildare, and choſe four perſons, to preſent their petitions to the king; and to this number, ſir Charles Coote, and an officer of the name of Parſons, were afterwards added. The whole party was of the puritanic caſt; and Coote and Parſons, at leaſt, who took the lead in their tranſactions, entirely devoted to the Engliſh parliament. They arrived at Oxford, before the agents nominated by the Iriſh council; and immediately preſented their petition. The king expreſſed a tender ſenſe of their diſtreſſes; and acknowleged, that they had truly ſtated the iniquity of the firſt popiſh inſurgents, intimating, however, that ſome diſtinction ſhould be made between thoſe and the gentry of the Pale, who, he ſeemed willing to believe, had been driven into rebellion by the Iriſh chief governors. Provoked at any tenderneſs expreſſed towards the popiſh party, theſe men broke forth into the moſt intemperate demands. They required the moſt vigorous execution of the ſtatutes againſt recuſancy, and the immediate baniſhment of all the Romiſh clergy, with a full reſtitution of churches and their revenues to the proteſtants: that the preſent par-

[o] Davis.

liament

liament ſhould be continued, and the uſurped power of the confederates immediately diſſolved: that their whole party ſhould be diſarmed, compelled to repair all damages ſuſtained by proteſtants, and brought to condign puniſhment for their offences, without any act of oblivion, releaſe, or diſcharge: that the oath of ſupremacy ſhould be ſtrictly impoſed on all magiſtrates; and that thoſe who refuſed it ſhould be incapable of ſitting in parliament, in which no infringement ſhould be made of the law of Poynings: that the king ſhould take all forfeited eſtates into his own hands; and, after ſatisfaction made to ſuch as claimed by former acts of parliament, diſpoſe of the remainder entirely to Britiſh planters.

The king and his miniſters were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the peremptory manner in which theſe, and ſome other propoſitions of the like import, were enforced [p]. It was conjectured, that they had been framed in London, with the view of obſtructing any accommodation with the Iriſh, and, perhaps, of provoking them to a ſudden violation of the truce. The agents were told, that demands, impoſſible to be enforced by the whole power of their party, though ſupported by the authority of the crown, could not be dictated by the proteſtants of Ireland. They were deſired to explain how the war could be carried on, if the Roman catholics ſhould refuſe their conſent to ſuch ſevere conditions of peace; and they were exhorted to accommodate their demands to the exigences of preſent times and circumſtances. But they continued obſtinate, and inſiſted, that they were duly authoriſed to offer theſe propoſitions.

The commiſſioners deputed by the Iriſh council were now arrived. They condemned the extravagance of the propoſitions which the other delegates had preſented, and requeſted Coote and his aſſociates to withdraw them; but in vain. Nor was the ſcheme of accommodation, propoſed by the new commiſſioners much more admiſſible. They particularly repreſented it as eſſential to the ſecurity of all proteſtant ſubjects in Ireland, that recuſants ſhould be diſarmed, and the penal laws ſtrictly enforced. It was in vain for the king to propoſe to the Iriſh agents, that their party, ſuperior as they were in power, and poſſeſſed of more than three parts of the kingdom, ſhould conſent to reſign themſelves unarmed, to the mercy of thoſe whom they had ſo grievouſly pro-

[p] Cox.

voked.

voked. Even in the times of peace, the penal laws were too odious to be ſtrictly executed; much more at the preſent juncture, when the catholics demanded ſuch conceſſions in favour of their religion, as would reduce the eſtabliſhed church merely to a ſtate of precarious toleration. Charles had a lively feeling of his own neceſſities; and his impatience for a peace, which was to afford him ſo conſiderable a reinforcement, was increaſed by the ſuggeſtions of the queen, who perſuaded her conſort, that his catholic ſubjects only were worthy of his confidence. But whether he was as yet fully poſſeſſed of this prejudice, he treated the agents of the confederate Iriſh with particular attention. Some of their demands he had conſented to grant, previous to the Iriſh inſurrection; and, in theſe points, he made no difficulty to repeat his promiſes. In others, it was neither odious nor unreaſonable to comply. With regard to the independency of Ireland, he was willing to refer that point to the diſcuſſion of both parliaments. He agreed to paſs an act for removing from the natives of Ireland any incapacity to purchaſe lands or offices; and had no objection to the allowing recuſants their ſeminaries of education. He was content to call a new parliament in Ireland, but without the ſuſpenſion of the law of Poynings. To their propoſition for a repeal of penal ſtatutes, he replied, that, as theſe ſtatutes never had been rigorouſly executed, ſo his recuſant ſubjects, on returning to their duty and loyalty, ſhould have no reaſon to complain that they were treated with leſs moderation than in the two former reigns; and that ſuch as manifeſted their affection to his ſervice, might depend upon receiving particular marks of his favour.

The Iriſh agents, conciliated by the condeſcenſion of the king, appeared to be fully ſatisfied with theſe declarations. They confeſſed, that his majeſty, in his preſent ſituation, could not, in their opinion, make any farther conceſſions; and they hoped that the general aſſembly would moderate its demands, though themſelves, as only commiſſioners, were not authoriſed to recede from them. The king diſmiſſed them with a pathetic admonition, to conſider his circumſtances and their own [p].

Charles was ſenſible that ſome important conceſſions muſt be made, before the Iriſh would conſent to take arms in his cauſe; but to what terms he might yield, without offending his own party, was a point of delicate

[p] Borlaſe.

diſcuſſion.

discussion. The king could not decide it; nor would a regard to their own interests allow his ministers to advise him. In this perplexity, he was willing, from necessity, to lay the odium of treating with the Irish on the marquis of Ormond; to whom, therefore, he sent a commission to make a definitive peace with the catholics of Ireland, on such conditions as he should judge agreeable to the public welfare. The difficulties of Ormond's government seemed already sufficient to confound the best abilities, without the embarrassment into which he was reduced by this commission. He resolved, however, in obedience to the commands of his royal master, to commence a treaty with the confederates. Their commissioners attended him at Dublin on the 6th day of September. It was agreed, without any difficulty, that the cessation should be prolonged; but the conferences about peace proved more perplexing. The Irish were every day more elevated with the ideas of their own importance, and the hopes of extorting vast concessions from the necessities of the king. The commissioners now appeared to have forgotten or disregarded the promises made to the king, and the sense expressed of his gracious attention to equity. They offered the very same propositions which had been presented at Oxford, beside some others of less moment. In particular, they required, that the Scots and lord Inchiquin, who concurred in opposing the cessation, should be declared traitors; a demand which could not be granted in the present juncture. After several other requisitions, the treaty was adjourned from October to the succeeding month of January; and as the agents employed to attend the king, had the misfortune to be made prisoners by a vessel in the service of the parliament, all farther proceedings were suspended, until the month of April, 1645. In the mean time, the confederate catholics carried on a sort of private negociation with the king, through the intervention of lord Muskerry, Nicholas Plunket, and Geoffry Browne. The last of these, in particular, presented a memorial, intimating that his party was inclined to moderate their demands with respect to religion, provided that his majesty would make some concessions to them in other articles. Charles, allured by these professions, became more complying, and empowered Ormond to make peace with the Irish, almost on any terms, not excluding even a repeal of the penal laws. But the marquis, who knew the extreme danger of such a measure, grew impatient of his present situation. He, therefore, A.D. 1644.

petitioned to be removed from his government, under the pretence that the confederates expected more from a countryman in this station, than could with propriety be granted. But the continuance of Ormond's services were deemed indispensable for the security of the royal cause in Ireland; and to reconcile him to the burden of a station from which he could not be removed, Charles loaded him with such graces as in his present circumstances he could bestow. Among the additional powers granted to the marquis, he now received a commission, which he had formerly solicited, for accepting the submissions of such Irish confederates as were inclined to peace upon the terms offered by the king, and for restoring them to their estates and blood. Charles hoped, by this measure, to divide their counsels, and to prevent them from any cordial union, should they ultimately declare for war. To dispose them, at the same time, to an amicable treaty, and, particularly, to reconcile them to the continuance of the present Irish parliament, he condescended to declare, that the order made under the administration of Parsons, for excluding such members of the commons as should refuse the oath of supremacy, was an encroachment on his prerogative. The lord-lieutenant was accordingly directed to require that this order should be rescinded. The zealous protestants were alarmed at an indulgence, which must give the popish recusants a formidable superiority in the Irish legislature. To prevent their clamours, a bill was enacted, for remitting to the protestants, as well clergy as laity, all rents, services, compositions, twentieth parts, and first fruits, due to the king at Michaelmas, 1641, or at any time since, or to be due at Easter, 1645.

The Irish, in the mean time, laboured with unremitting attention to strengthen their confederacy, so as to pursue either hostile or pacific measures with advantage to their cause; and, with this view, they neglected not even to solicit succours from foreign courts. Nor were they less vigorous in their military operations against those who declared for the parliament, and rejected the cessation. Scarely, had lord Esmond, governor of Duncannon, resolved to betray his fort to the parliament, when he had the mortification of finding himself neglected and abandoned by his new masters. Lord Inchiquin, equally neglected by the English parliament, was encountered, on the expiration of his truce, by the earl of Castlehaven, at the head of five thousand foot, and one thousand horse. The

earl

earl over-ran the whole ſouthern provinces, and reduced a number of forts without any conſiderable reſiſtance. Inchiquin, unable to keep the field, was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Cork, while Caſtlehaven waſted the country even to the walls of this city [q].

The period now arrived when the treaty between Ormond and the Iriſh confederates was to be renewed. The latter wiſhed to gain time for receiving intelligence from their foreign agents; and weakly imagined, that by delaying their deciſions until the king ſhould be plunged into yet greater difficulties, they might extort more advantageous terms. They propoſed that the conferences ſhould be ſtill further poſtponed; but Ormond inſiſted that they ſhould be reſumed on the day appointed. The Iriſh agents attended him, but, at firſt, not in ſuch a number as was required. They declared, that, as their general aſſembly was to meet on the 15th of May, they could conclude nothing without the approbation of that body; that they were confined merely to deliver their propoſitions, and to debate the matter of them; deſiring the beſt anſwers that could be afforded, and promiſing, if poſſible, to prevail upon their party to accept them.

Ormond, from a ſincere ſolicitude for the king's intereſts and honour, concealed the powers he had received for conſenting to the abrogation of the penal ſtatutes. He treated on the terms formerly propoſed, that the royal promiſe ſhould be given, and that theſe ſtatutes ſhould not be executed on the concluſion of a peace. He ſatisfied the Iriſh agents, that a ſuſpenſion of Poynings' law was by no means requiſite for their ſecurity. Among ſome new graces to which he yielded, the Iriſh were to be releaſed from all the king's rents and revenues which they had received ſince the firſt inſurrection; with an abolition of all attainders, indictments, and outlawries, againſt any of their party. It had formerly been agreed, that the king ſhould confer all places of truſt and honour in Ireland indiſcriminately on catholic and proteſtant ſubjects. By virtue of this agreement, the agents now affected to conſider it as a ſettled point, that the king had obliged himſelf to employ an equal number of each party. Ormond oppoſed this interpretation, and peremptorily rejected the demand. Yet by a happy addreſs, in which dignity and condeſcenſion qualified each other, he diſmiſſed the agents apparently well diſpoſed to peace; and was flattered with

[q] Carte.

expectation, that their general aſſembly would ſpeedily embrace the royal cauſe.

But this aſſembly, however apparently united in one common intereſt, was compoſed of diſcordant parties. The Iriſh of Ulſter, conſcious of their enormities, dreaded the deprivation of their hereditary poſſeſſions; and, therefore, were obſtinately determined againſt any peace, which ſhould not fully ſecure their perſons, and ſubvert the ſcheme of the northern plantation. The clergy, who poſſeſſed an unbounded influence over the people, laboured to obſtruct all meaſures of accommodation which did not gratify the utmoſt extravagance of their wiſhes. The impatience which Charles expreſſed for a peace with the Iriſh, contributed not a little to inflame their pride, and defeat his own purpoſes; and while he ought to have entruſted the negociation entirely to the abilities of the marquis of Ormond, he was unhappily ſeduced into a vain dependence on ſecret counſels and private agents. Among the moſt zealous partizans of this prince, was Edward Somerſet, lord Herbert, eldeſt ſon of the marquis of Worceſter. He had raiſed a conſiderable body of forces for the king's ſervice, at his own and his father's expence; and in return for his loyalty, a warrant paſſed under the royal ſign manuel for creating him earl of Glamorgan. Charles, in the confidence of ſome vaſt ſervices to be performed by this nobleman, had alſo appointed him generaliſſimo of three armies, Engliſh, Iriſh, and foreign; not only inveſted him with extraordinary powers, but prompted him to enterpriſe, by the moſt ſplendid promiſes of royal favour. Glamorgan was a zealous Roman catholic, and allied to ſome of the moſt powerful families in Ireland. On ſome real or pretended buſineſs, he declared his reſolution of viſiting this kingdom about the end of the year 1644. The king recommended him to the lord-lieutenant, who received, through other channels, no very favourable repreſentations of Glamorgan and his undertakings. The confederate Iriſh entertained the moſt ſanguine expectations from a nobleman of ſuch influence and power, connected with them both by affinity and religion, to be ſent into Ireland, with full authority to hear their demands, and to conclude an accommodation [s].

The general aſſembly, in their new ſeſſion, on the 15th of May, received the propoſitions of the marquis with ſo

[s] Carte. Borlaſe.

much

much temper, that the penal ſtatutes ſeemed the only remaining obſtacle to peace. The earl of Clanricarde expreſſed his confidence to the chief governor, that, if he would grant a repeal of theſe ſtatutes, a final accommodation muſt immediately enſue, and that the Iriſh would at once engage in the royal cauſe, at the riſk of their lives and fortunes. But the clergy, ever proud and factious, inſiſted, that, by the oath of aſſociation, the confederates were bound to ſtipulate expreſly, that all the churches and other religious houſes, in their poſſeſſion, ſhould for ever be retained. The more moderate of the aſſembly were provoked, and demanded, that this declaration, which would load them with a ſhameful charge of perjury, ſhould be retracted. After a long altercation, the clergy could only be prevailed on to declare, that they meant not to involve the agents of a peace in the guilt of perjury, though no expreſs article ſhould be inſerted for keeping poſſeſſion of the churches, provided that the effect ſhould be obtained. Fired with the proſpect of riches and honours, they thundered the danger of the church into the ears of their bigotted followers: they declaimed againſt the impiety of any peace, which ſhould not inveſt the prelates with full juriſdiction, as well as with the right of ſitting in parliament, now uſurped by proteſtants: they concluded with exhorting the aſſembly in the ſtrongeſt terms to proteſt againſt the preſent treaty: and ſo much were the members influenced by theſe declamations, that, notwithſtanding they declared ſuch proceedings to be ſeditious and traiterous, they refuſed to reſtore the churches to the proteſtants; and rejected every expedient propoſed for removing this new obſtacle to a peace

The battle of Naſeby, ſo fatal to the king's cauſe, ſerved to increaſe the arrogance of the confederates; and their propoſitions, with reſpect both to their civil and religious intereſts, grew every day more enormous. They demanded, that the plantations formed in Wicklow and Kilkenny ſhould be immediately aboliſhed, that they ſhould retain the forts and cities which they occupied, and exerciſe their government, until all the articles of peace were confirmed by an act of parliament; that they ſhould not only have an equal number with the proteſtants in all civil and military offices, but that the king's favour ſhould be manifeſted in this reſpect, by ſome immediate inſtances; that they ſhould have their ſchools and univerſities; that their prelates ſhould exerciſe juriſdiction without controul; that all penal ſtatutes ſhould be abo-

lished; and that they should retain all the churches at present in their possession.

Charles expressed his indignation at these extravagant demands. He directed Ormond, that, if the Irish should take so unworthy an advantage of his difficulties, as to reject a peace on any other terms, he should, if possible, procure a farther cessation: if not, that he should endeavour to divide their party, and rather leave every thing to the chance of war, than grant such a toleration to popery as must evidently prove destructive to the protestant profession [r]. Ormond briefly stated the sum of those concessions which the Irish might expect, and which differed little from those already offered. He consented to a repeal of the penal statutes; and to convince them of his majesty's intentions to employ all his subjects of Ireland indiscriminately, proposed that a body of catholics, consisting of four thousand foot and six hundred horse, should be added to the king's army, on concluding the articles of peace.

Various pretences were employed to delay the answer to these propositions of the chief governor, until the arrival of the earl of Glamorgan. This nobleman, on preparing for his journey, had amused the king with magnificent expectations. He promised to lead six thousand Irish forces into England in the month of June, to reinforce them with four thousand royalists of Wales; to block up Milford-Haven with his transports; to advance thirty thousand pounds, with a considerable quantity of arms, and to raise the sum of thirty thousand more. But he was detained too long in England to fulfil these vast engagements; nor did he arrive in Ireland until about the end of July. If the particular instructions received by Glamorgan were not communicated to the lord-lieutenant; it appears, at least, from the warmth with which the latter recommended him to lord Muskerry, that he considered the earl as a person properly authorised to treat with the Irish. The Irish were offended at that statelines with which Ormond conducted their treaty; the zealots among them considered him as secretly disaffected, and they determined to defeat the king's hopes of succour, by obstructing the Irish peace. When the seizure of the king's cabinet at Naseby discovered his private instructions to Ormond, to conclude a peace on any terms, they were enraged, and printed the letter, with severe animadver-

[r] Carte. Borlase.

sions

sions on the marquis. In such a temper, they received Glamorgan with particular satisfaction. By virtue of his commission, he entered on a private treaty with the confederates, which, in about a month after his arrival, was concluded.

On the king's part, it was agreed, that all Roman catholics should enjoy the public exercise of their religion, retain all the churches not actually possessed by protestants, exercise their own jurisdiction, and be exempted from that of the protestant clergy; and that an act of parliament should be passed to confirm these concessions, and to qualify catholics for all offices of trust and dignity. For the due performance of all these articles, Glamorgan engaged the royal word. On the part of the confederates it was stipulated, that ten thousand men should be sent by order of their general assembly, to serve the king in England, Wales, or Scotland, under the command of the earl, and such other officers as the confederates should appoint; and that two-thirds of the revenues of the clergy should be assigned to the maintenance of this body for three years[t]. In consequence of this treaty, which was concluded on the 25th day of August, the general assembly, on the 9th of the succeeding month, passed a vote for levying ten thousand men for the royal service; and, as it was still necessary to continue the public treaty with Ormond, Glamorgan, who was impatient for the honour of conducting such a reinforcement into England, solicited the marquis to make all the concessions he was authorised to grant, and for the rest to appeal to his majesty. On the renewal of the treaty with Ormond, every article relative to the civil interests of the confederates was debated with due temper, and adjusted without difficulty. But Ormond cautiously opposed the demands respecting religion, as they amounted to nothing less than a legal establishment, not only of the Romish worship, but the papal jurisdiction. The Irish agents, conscious of the transactions with Glamorgan, proposed, that no clause in the treaty should preclude the catholics from such farther graces as his majesty might be pleased to grant; and this proposal was accepted. The peace now seemed on the point of final settlement; the king every moment expected the embarkation of his Irish succours, when new difficulties arose, and the very means employed for his service, defeated the purposes of this unhappy prince.

[t] Cox.

A.D.1645. During the whole course of negociation, a numerous party of the confederates, sensible of the necessity of supporting the king, had discovered a solicitude to restore the public peace; and were contented with a free enjoyment of their religion, without the splendor of a public establishment. The clergy, however, did not fail to inveigh against this defertion of the church. Their agents at Rome represented the danger which might thence accrue to the interests of their religion; and to avert it, Rinuncini, the pope's nuncio, was directed to hasten into Ireland. It was justly dreaded by the king's friends, that the presence of this emissary, and his practices with the Irish ecclesiastics, would prove a dangerous embarrassment to the conclusion of a peace, and suspend, if not prevent, the succours expected from the confederates. After his arrival in Ireland, in his first audience of the council, he professed the fairest intentions of promoting the interests of religion, and the peace of the kingdom. Glamorgan addressed himself to the nuncio with particular deference, and explained the nature of his commission to treat with the Irish. The nuncio, with an arrogance proportionable to the attention which was paid him, objected to the terms both of the public and private treaty, as insufficient and precarious; as the king might be reduced to an utter inability of confirming them; and the earl of Glamorgan, who alone could insist on such a confirmation, might be suddenly taken off by death. The council endeavoured to obviate the various objections made by the nuncio; but without any other effect, than to confirm him in his own opinion, and the moderate confederates in their purpose of an immediate accommodation [w].

The nuncio summoned the Romish bishops, now at Kilkenny, to a private meeting. Eight attended, and joined him in a protest against the peace, and a resolution to oppose it; but their instrument was not to be produced, until the treaty should be abruptly or preposterously concluded by the council. Such was the stile of their resolutions. The nuncio next addressed himself to Glamorgan. He gravely observed, that the king should no longer be deceived by heretics; that the safety of his crown depended, next under God, on the Roman pontiff, and the union of all his catholic subjects with those of other countries; and that it was of the utmost importance to his interests to gratify the Irish by granting them

[w] Rushworth.

all

all their demands. The earl readily yielded to theſe inſtances. He was impatient to remove every difficulty to his appearing at the head of an Iriſh army; and his bigotry and vanity united in prevailing on him to ſign an inſtrument, by way of appendage to his former treaty. He now engaged, that, when ten thouſand Iriſh ſhould be ſent into England, the king ſhould oblige himſelf never to employ any but a catholic lord-lieutenant of Ireland; to allow the catholic biſhops to ſit in parliament; univerſities to be erected under their regulation; and that the juriſdiction of the ſupreme council ſhould ſubſiſt until all the private articles were ratified. But all theſe ſecret negociations were ſuddenly diſconcerted by a particular incident; to explain which, it is neceſſary to give an account of ſome military tranſactions.

At the time when the Iriſh confederates were urgent with the marquis of Ormond to declare the northern covenanters rebels, he was induſtrious rather to reconcile theſe forces to the king's ſervice and government; and not only the old Britiſh troops, but even Monro and his Scots, ſhewed ſome diſpoſition to unite with the chief governor, upon moderate terms. The Engliſh parliament, alarmed at the conſequences of ſuch a union, reſolved to ſend ten thouſand pounds, ſome cloaths, and proviſions, for the ſervice of Ulſter; and that a committee of their own body ſhould viſit this province, examine the ſtate of the ſoldiery, and hear their complaints. Meanwhile, their truſty partizan, ſir Charles Coote, whom they had lately appointed to command in Connaught, was diſpatched with a requiſition to the Britiſh generals in the North, that they ſhould aſſiſt him againſt the rebels in his government, and particularly to reduce the town of Sligo, their principal place of ſtrength. After ſome heſitation, four thouſand foot and five hundred horſe were detached from the Scottiſh and Engliſh forces. Sligo was readily ſurrendered; and all the adjacent counties expoſed to their depredations. The earl of Clanricarde, who could have ſuppreſſed theſe outrages, had been denied the preſidency of Connaught, on the death of lord Ranelagh; and, with a high ſenſe of his own dignity, refuſed to accept the military command, under the order of the new preſidents, lord Wilmot, and lord Dillon of Coſtella. In this exigence, the marquis of Ormond commiſſioned lord Taafe to ſuppreſs thoſe who violated the ceſſation, or broke into the quarters of the loyaliſts in Connaught; and with

the aſſiſtance of Clanricarde, and others of the weſtern province, this lord proceeded with ſucceſs [h].

At the ſame time, the confederates of Kilkenny, no leſs alarmed and provoked at the hoſtilities of the Northerns, directed ſir James Dillon, one of their officers, to march with eight hundred men to the aſſiſtance of the popiſh archbiſhop of Tuam, who was employed in collecting forces for the recovery of Sligo. This military prelate led the aſſault, forced his way into the town, and was on the point of expelling the Britiſh garriſon, when his forces were ſuddenly alarmed with the intelligence of a ſtrong northern army juſt approaching. They immediately retired, but were attacked and routed by ſir Charles Coote. The archbiſhop fell in this action; and in ranſacking his baggage, the victors found, beſides other papers of conſequence, an authentic copy of a private treaty which Glamorgan had concluded with the confederates, and in which was contained a diſtinct recital of his commiſſion, and of his oath to the confederates.

This important acquiſition was inſtantly tranſmitted to the Engliſh parliament; by order of which the papers were printed, and induſtriouſly diſperſed, to the no ſmall exultation of the king's enemies. Copies were ſent to the lord-lieutenant, and lord Digby, at Dublin; others were in the hands of many Iriſh ſubjects. Thoſe of the popiſh party who thus diſcovered the fulneſs of the king's conceſſions, were extravagantly elated, the proteſtants ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, and the miniſters terrified at the proſpect of a general revolt of his party. Something was neceſſary to be done for allaying ſo dangerous a ferment. Lord Digby, under ſome ſpecious pretence, ſeduced Glamorgan to Dublin, where, in a few days after his arrival, he accuſed the earl before the privy-council, of a ſuſpicion of high-treaſon, and moved that his perſon might be ſecured. To ſupport this charge, the treaty, the oath, and the commiſſion of Glamorgan, were all read at the council-board. Lord Digby declared, that any ſuch pretended authority from his majeſty muſt be either forged or ſurreptitiouſly obtained; or if the earl had any colour of authority, that it was limited by ſome private inſtructions. Digby, however, muſt have been ſatisfied of the reality of Glamorgan's commiſſion, as he declared to ſecretary Nicholas, that it was almoſt impoſſible for any man to be ſo mad, as to enter into ſuch an agreement, without powers

[h] Ruſhworth.

from

from his majesty. Nor could Ormond seriously believe that the king was incapable of granting such a commission as Glamorgan pleaded, when he considered the extent of those powers which himself had received from his majesty.

Glamorgan alleged in his defence, that he was authorized by his commission to conclude the treaty; but he declared, he had not engaged his majesty's faith and honour farther than by showing his authority, and depositing it with the confederates. He utterly denied that he had received any particular instructions from the king, by which he might be directed or limited in his negociation. He declared, that he had acted entirely from a zeal for his majesty's service to accelerate the Irish forces, without obliging the king to any particular articles which he might disapprove. It does not appear that he confessed to Ormond, his transactions with the nuncio, and the extravagant concessions to which he had been reduced by this ecclesiastic, or that these were communicated even to the confederate commissioners. In his confinement Glamorgan discovered no signs of terror, which would have been natural to a man under the consciousness of having committed a forgery. In his letters to his wife and children, he even expressed a contempt of Digby's accusation.

The news of his imprisonment was received at Kilkenny with the utmost indignation. The more violent were for instantly betaking themselves to arms, and demanding him at the gates of Dublin. The supreme council laboured to allay this flame; but were obliged to summon a new general assembly, which, after a few days recollection, seemed convinced that all the severity expressed against Glamorgan was dissembled, and that the government could not really entertain a doubt of his innocence: for they applied to the lord-lieutenant, not that the charge against the earl should be examined, but that he should be immediately released; as three thousand men were ready to embark for the relief of Chester, and nothing was wanting but transports, for which Glamorgan had contracted; but neither the expedition, nor the treaty of peace, could proceed until he should be set at liberty. The lord-lieutenant and council, as if persuaded that enough had been already done to vindicate the king's honour, and that his service might be injured by their affecting resentment any longer against Glamorgan, began now to

to ſpeak more tenderly of his offence, which they imputed entirely to an injudicious zeal for the intereſt of the crown. Having accepted ſureties for his appearance, they diſmiſſed him to Kilkenny; and, with a confidence not to be repoſed in any man really guilty of high treaſon, they commiſſioned him to treat with the confederates for the tranſportation of forces to Cheſter, and other purpoſes [1].

Ormond was ſoon after attended by two principal agents of the confederates. He had already offered the civil articles of peace in the very terms propoſed by that party; and, on the impriſonment of Glamorgan, tranſmitted them to Kilkenny, to prevent any dangerous impreſſion from this incident. Nothing farther ſeemed neceſſary than to prepare the inſtruments to be laid before the general aſſembly for a formal approbation. But new occaſions of oppoſition, and new difficulties, ſtill protracted the concluſion of this tedious treaty. Lord Digby had proteſted with vehemence againſt the religious articles granted by the earl of Glamorgan. The king diſavowed them in his declaration to the Engliſh parliament. He profeſſed that the earl had a commiſſion to raiſe forces in Ireland, according to an offer which he had made; but none for any other purpoſe. In a letter to the lord-lieutenant and council of Ireland, he declared, that as the peace could not be obtained without ſome indulgence to the Catholics, in reſpect of the penal laws, and as ſuch indulgence in a public tranſaction might perhaps give ſcandal, he had privately inſtructed his lieutenant to aſſure the Catholics, in a leſs public way, of exemption from thoſe penalties, and of ſuch other graces as might be conferred, without blemiſh to his honour, or prejudice to his proteſtant ſubjects; that he had informed the earl of Glamorgan of theſe ſecret inſtructions; that knowing the earl's intereſt with the catholic party, he thought he might be of uſe in perſuading them to moderation, and to reſt ſatisfied with theſe conceſſions; that he had ſtrictly confined him to theſe, and to be governed in every thing by the directions of the lieutenant.

At the very time of writing this public letter, Charles, by another to the marquis of Ormond, privately directed him to ſuſpend the execution of any ſentence againſt Glamorgan, as his conduct had proceeded from miſguided

[1] Ruſhworth.

zeal,

zeal, rather than malice; and he even conveyed secretly to Glamorgan, repeated assurances of his confidence and friendship [k].

The nuncio had for some time laboured indefatigably to oppose any accommodation, but on terms of enormous advantage to the interests of the church. To counteract the schemes of those confederates who wished to make peace on such terms as might secure the toleration, without the establishment of their religion, he produced the plan of a treaty said to be framed by the pope, and which consisted of extravagant provisions for the church. He assembled the zealots of the clergy, and easily prevailed upon them to sign a declaration in favour of this treaty: he wrought with equal assiduity to gain over to his purpose the earl of Glamorgan, who had declared warmly for a speedy conclusion of the civil articles with Ormond, and for considering his own separate treaty as a sufficient security for the ecclesiastical interests. His impatience to lead an army to the relief of his royal master, now disposed him to comply with the nuncio. He therefore wrote the marquis a letter, the style of which seems to imply a consciousness in Glamorgan, that his powers from the king were genuine and authentic. The answer of the marquis of Ormond seems also inconsistent with a real persuasion that the earl was not duly authorized to treat with the confederates.

While the nuncio exerted himself with so much zeal in favour of a treaty, which probably had no existence but in his own heated imagination, the more sensible and moderate of the general assembly contended for the speedy conclusion of the treaty with the marquis of Ormond. Amidst the debates on this subject, the impatience of the earl of Glamorgan was redoubled. He flew from one party to the other, attempting to moderate the violence of each: he signed an instrument, by which he engaged in the king's name to ratify the Roman treaty, upon condition, that if the original articles should arrive by the 1st day of May, his instrument should be void; and, in the mean time, kept secret, unless the treaty with Ormond, concerning the civil articles, should be published before that day. The nuncio yielded to these proposals of Glamorgan. They signed, with some deputies of the general assembly, a convention, by which it was stipulated, that the cessation should continue to the 1st of

[k] Inquiry. Harleian MS.

May;

May; that if the original of the pope's treaty were not then produced, the nuncio ſhould ratify what he and Glamorgan ſhould agree upon; and that the political treaty with the lord-lieutenant ſhould proceed, provided that nothing was attempted to the prejudice of the preſent tranſaction. The nuncio, however, ſtill entertained ſuſpicions of the ſincerity of Glamorgan; but thoſe being at length quieted, he exhorted the general aſſembly to proceed in their preparations for the king's ſervice; while the earl haſtened to Waterford to attend the embarkation of the troops deſtined for the relief of Cheſter, when this city had already ſurrendered to the parliament. In a ſtrain of perfect confidence, he aſſured the unhappy Charles, that ten thouſand men ſhould ſpeedily be tranſported for his ſervice; and that, his majeſty conſtant in a favourable opinion and right interpretation of his poor endeavours, he doubted not of procuring him to be a glorious and happy prince.

While the earl of Glamorgan was thus preparing for an embarkation never to be effected, and indulged himſelf with viſionary projects, the ſupreme council of the confederates was engaged in the final ſettlement of their treaty with the marquis of Ormond [1]. The articles to which he had aſſented appeared ſo ſatisfactory to the general aſſembly, that even their prelates concurred in approving them. It had been formerly ſtipulated with the nuncio, that no peace ſhould be concluded before the 1ſt day of May; but the new general aſſembly, convened on the 6th of March, did not conſider themſelves as bound by this convention. Their former agents were commiſſioned to conclude the treaty, and, in defiance of the proteſtation, thundered by the nuncio againſt their farther proceeding, the treaty was concluded on the 28th day of the ſame month. It was attended with a conditional obligation, by which the king was abſolved from all his conceſſions, unleſs thoſe ſuccours were obtained, which were his great purpoſe, and final object of his negociations with the Iriſh. The confederates engaged to tranſport ſix thouſand foot, well armed and provided, by the firſt day of April, and four thouſand more in a month after. In the mean time the treaty was to be depoſited in the hands of Clanricarde (now created a marquis), as an inſtrument of no validity, until the troops ſhould be ſent away.

[1] Carte.

Thus

Thus far was a treaty brought to a final concluſion, which the pride, the improvidence, and the bigotry of the Iriſh had protracted, until the king had no appearance of an army left in England, and utterly deſpaired of any farther oppoſition to his enemies. The Iriſh ſuccours, which he laboured to procure by a ſeries of diſgraceful conceſſions, could now ſcarcely be employed to any effectual purpoſe in England. Charles was reduced to the melancholy expedient of employing them in the reduction of Ireland, which might, at leaſt, afford him a retreat, if his other kingdoms could not be recovered [m]. Ormond had as yet received no authentic intelligence of the king's extreme diſtreſs. He gave the neceſſary orders for the firſt embarkation of ſix thouſand men; but the Iriſh confederates were no ſtrangers to the general ſtate of affairs in England. Glamorgan, who, in conjunction with the marquis of Antrim, had engaged for tranſports, could not provide them at the time appointed. The confederates therefore choſe to employ their forces againſt Inchiquin and the parliamentarians of Munſter. In regard to the expediency of this meaſure, they obſerved to the marquis of Ormond, that the clearing of one kingdom promiſed more advantage to the king than a deſperate attempt to aſſiſt him in England.

The depredations of ſir Charles Coote, and his parliamentarian forces in Connaught, became ſo violent and alarming, that the confederates grew more urgent with the marquis to declare againſt them. They required of Ormond to admit, that the obſtructions to the embarkation of their forces were ſufficient to juſtify them from any violation of engagements; and repreſented to him, that any immediate publication of his treaty muſt neceſſarily be attended with a like publication of Glamorgan's ſecret articles. If ſuch an event would not be acceptable to the lieutenant, they required that he ſhould immediately unite his forces with their's, and proceed with vigour againſt the common enemy.

Ormond had juſt received intelligence that the king had reſigned himſelf to the Scottiſh army; an incident of ſuch conſequence as might require ſome change in his councils and meaſures; and, after ſome deliberation, he determined to return a ſpirited anſwer to the confederates. The neceſſity of union, he obſerved, was too apparent, but refuſed to unite with thoſe who derived not their au-

[m] Carte,

thority

thority from the king. He was, however, ready to accept the aſſiſtance of any of the king's ſubjects; and, on publication of the peace, might be more explicit. He could not admit that they had been guilty of no failure in their ſtipulations; for though it might have been impracticable to ſend their forces into England, yet the ſums which they had engaged to ſupply for the ſervice of the government were not yet remitted. Glamorgan's articles had been diſavowed by the king; and he therefore could not admit the publication of them. He inſiſted peremptorily upon their ſuppreſſing them; and that the treaty of Dublin ſhould be inſtantly publiſhed. If theſe overtures were not accepted, he declared, that the ſtate of his majeſty's affairs in Dublin muſt ſoon force him to ſeek ſome other way of recovering and ſupporting his authority in Ireland.

The confederates, alarmed at this bold expoſtulation, and apprehenſive leſt Ormond might join with the parliamentarians, inſtantly abated of their former arrogant diſpoſition. They apologized for their failures, and promiſed to fulfil all their engagements; they conſented to omit the publication of Glamorgan's treaty; the articles concluded with Ormond were immediately to be publiſhed by mutual conſent: when a letter from the king forbade all farther proceedings, and prohibited the lieutenant from concluding a treaty with the Iriſh on any conditions. Ormond might have been perſuaded that this order was extorted; but it was not eaſy to perſuade others: ſuſpence and confuſion every where prevailed. The lieutenant and council, in their anſwer to the king, enumerated the diſtreſſes of the Iriſh government; pleaded the abſolute neceſſity of renewing the ceſſation, though his majeſty's orders ſeemed to forbid it; and urged the impoſſibility of commencing war, without large ſupplies of money and military ſtores. The confederates declared, that they could not proceed any farther in their negociation in the preſent uncertainty of the king's condition. During this embarraſſment, lord Digby arrived opportunely from the continent. He declared, that the king was held captive by the Scots, who extorted from him ſuch inſtructions to his ſervants as ſuited their own purpoſe. That of this ſevere reſtraint his majeſty had found means to ſend private notice to Paris, directing that the queen, the prince, and all his miniſters, ſhould purſue the orders he had given while free; that in all points which he had not then determined, the prince ſhould give

ſuch

ſuch orders as he judged moſt advantageous to the crown; that particularly in the affairs of Ireland, the lord-lieutenant ſhould proceed agreeably to his former inſtructions, without regard to any ſubſequent orders ſurreptitiouſly or forcibly obtained; and that, as the great-ſeal of England was likely to fall into the hands of his enemies, no attention was to be paid to it in Ireland, unleſs the king ſhould ſignify, under his own hand, in cypher, that it had been uſed agreeably to his inclination. The prince of Wales, by a letter, aſſured the marquis of his concurrence and ſupport in the proſecution of the Iriſh treaty. Theſe declarations appearing ſatisfactory to both parties, the inſtruments of pacification were exchanged on the 29th day of July. The council iſſued a proclamation, ratifying the articles; and all perſons were enjoined to receive it with due obſervance and ſubmiſſion.

Some ſettlement of the affairs of Ireland might have been expected from an event which had been ſo ardently deſired by all moderate men in the nation. But this peace had been the work of a diſtreſſed government, ſo repugnant to the views of the prevailing power in England, that lord Liſle was already appointed chief-governor of Ireland by the parliament. The great body of covenanters in Ulſter deſpiſed the whole negociation; and the parliamentarians of Munſter, who, in the fulneſs of their zeal, could be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than the extirpation of popery, oppoſed any peace with the Iriſh. A powerful party of the Catholics, with the ſame abſurd violence, aimed at the utter deſtruction of Engliſhmen and their religion; while the nuncio, through the whole progreſs of the treaty, was indefatigable in his oppoſition to any peace but one framed by the pope, and which ſhould re-eſtabliſh, with ſplendor, the Romiſh worſhip through the kingdom. Poſſeſſed with the moſt erroneous political opinions, this buſtling prelate ſecretly rejoiced in every misfortune of the royal party, and ſtrenuouſly contended againſt every meaſure which might ſupport the king's tottering cauſe. He harangued, he remonſtrated, he proteſted againſt the treaty with Ormond; and preached the neceſſity of union among the confederates, without any attention to the king's miniſters, or any thought of peace. He particularly addreſſed himſelf to Owen O'Nial, and his Ulſter forces, which were chiefly compoſed of barbarous rovers, who had no ſettled reſidence. Both the leader and his followers were diſguſted at the ſupreme council; and were, therefore, eaſily prevailed upon to

declare againſt the peace. Nor was it difficult to procure the concurrence of the Ulſter Iriſh, who derived no advantage but from public commotion. They were collected with ſuch diligence, that, about the end of May, Owen had aſſembled near five thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, and, at the head of this body, advanced towards Armagh [n].

The Scottiſh general, Monro, alarmed at this motion, and naturally apprehending ſome attempts againſt the Britiſh garriſons of Ulſter, drew out ſix thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe, and, by a forced march, arrived at midnight at Armagh, to ſurpriſe O'Nial in his quarters. Here he learned that the Iriſh army lay ſeven miles farther, at a place called Benburb, ſtrongly poſted between two hills, with a wood behind, and on their right the river Blackwater, deemed difficult to be paſſed. Next morning Monro marched on the other ſide of the river, in full view of O'Nial, to meet a conſiderable reinforcement which he expected; when, finding a ford unexpectedly, he croſſed the river, and advanced on the Iriſh. Both armies were drawn up in order of battle; but inſtead of coming to a general engagement, the Iriſh general contrived to waſte the day, and amuſe the enemy in ſkirmiſhes. Towards ſun-ſet a detachment, which he had ſent to oppoſe the troops expected by Monro, had had been foiled in the attempt, and now haſtened to rejoin the main body. Monro was alarmed at ſeeing the enemy reinforced by a conſiderable troop, which, as it advanced, he had miſtaken for his own men. He now prepared to retreat, and, in that moment, was furiouſly attacked by the Iriſh, in full confidence of victory. An Engliſh regiment, commanded by lord Blaney, maintained its ground, until he and moſt of his men were cut to pieces. The Scottiſh cavalry, which was ſoon broken, caſt the foot into diſorder, and produced a general rout. More than three thouſand of the Britiſh forces fell in the field, with the loſs only of ſeventy on the ſide of the Iriſh. The artillery, moſt of the arms, tents, and baggage of the Scots, with a great quantity of proviſions, were taken. Monro fled with the utmoſt precipitation, was vigorouſly purſued, and Ulſter on the point of being entirely reduced by O'Nial, when this general was ſuddenly called by the nuncio into Leinſter to oppoſe the peace. With this view he inſtantly marched at the head of ten thouſand

[n] Ruſhworth.

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barbarous ravagers, so much had his army increased by the victory of Benburb.

By the prospect of so powerful a support, the adherents of the nuncio were every where inspired with the utmost confidence; which they expressed by the hostile reception given to the proclamation of peace in several parts of Ireland[n]. At Waterford and Clonmel, those who had been commissioned to proclaim it were, on frivolous pretences, prevented from doing their office. At Limerick the chief magistrate attended the proclamation, but was suddenly attacked by a tumultuous crowd, led on by the clergy, who wounded the mayor and the heralds, some of them mortally, imprisoned them for ten days; and, for this outrage, received the thanks and benediction of the nuncio. By his own authority he displaced those magistrates who had attempted to support the proclamation, and conferred the government of the city upon a man who had been conductor of the tumult. Having convened his clergy at Waterford, they pronounced all who adhered to the peace guilty of violating their oath of association; they excommunicated the commissioners, and all who had been instrumental in the treaty; they pronounced an interdict in all places where the peace had been admitted; suspended all the clergy who preached in favour of it, and all confessors who absolved any adherents of the peace. Excommunication was denounced against those who paid or levied any money assessed by the council of Kilkenny, and all soldiers who should support the execution of their orders. For the better union of their party, a new oath of association was framed, by which they engaged not to adhere to any peace but such as should be approved by the congregation of the Irish clergy.

This violence of the nuncio and clergy had its full effect upon an ignorant and bigotted people, who loudly exclaimed against a peace, in which the interests of religion were not explicitly secured. The supreme council prepared an appeal against these censures; but it was neither exhibited in form nor published. Instead of rigorously enforcing their authority, they endeavoured to sooth the clergy, and by that means confirmed them in the opinion of their own power. In these circumstances the council looked to the marquis of Ormond for support. They earnestly invited him to repair to Kilkenny, in order to

[n] Rushworth.

assist them to maintain the peace against the violence of the nuncio, and to concert measures for checking the progress of lord Inchiquin, who over-ran the southern province, in defiance of the proclamation of peace.

However ineffectual a peace was now become, for answering the essential purposes for which it had been desired by the king and his adherents, it was still absolutely necessary towards supporting even the name of royal authority in Ireland. A chief governor, without forces, money, or provisions, threatened at once by the parliamentarians of Ulster, Connaught, and Munster, and by the Catholics of all the provinces, could have no hope of enforcing, or even retaining any authority. The kingdom must unavoidably be reduced to the king's enemies of Britain, or become the prey of some foreign power. Ormond, therefore, readily accepted the invitation of the confederates. With a train of fifteen hundred foot, and five hundred horse, attended by the marquis of Clanricarde and lord Digby, he repaired to Kilkenny, where he was received with such joy, as seemed to indicate a general disposition in the people to be again admitted into the king's protection; but this flattering prospect was soon overcast. Preston, on pretence of indisposition, refused to attend the lord-lieutenant. An emissary whom he had dispatched to practise with Owen O'Nial, could not, by the most liberal offers, detach that general from the nuncio. The earl of Castlehaven was sent to this prelate and his clergy at Waterford, to dissuade them from their violent measures, and reconcile them to the peace; but he found them inflexible. To compose the dispositions of the people, Ormond attempted some excursions into Munster. He prepared to march to Cashel; when one of his own kinsmen appeared in arms to oppose him; and the magistrate of this town assured him, that the utmost vengeance was denounced against the inhabitants, should they presume to give him admittance; and that O'Nial was on his march to execute those menaces. From the privy-council at Dublin he received alarming intelligence of the motions and designs of this general; and so confident were they that O'Nial intended either to intercept the lieutenant, or, in his absence, to lay siege to the capital, that preparations were made for the defence of Dublin.

Ormond soon received the most authentic information of his present danger. Immediately on his departure for Kilkenny, the nuncio, who had attached O'Nial to his party by large sums of money, urged him either to undertake

take the ſiege of Dublin, or to intercept the lieutenant on his return. He determined on the latter enterprize as the leaſt hazardous; and Preſton, at length yielding to the inſtances of Rinuccini, was engaged in the ſame deſign. Ormond being aſſured that both theſe generals were actually on their march to cut off his retreat, there was now no time for expoſtulation, and, by forced marches, with ſome difficulty, and ſeveral alarms, he regained the capital, where he prepared againſt a ſiege. The inhabitants, who had neglected the fortifications, were rouſed by the apprehenſions of immediate danger, and proceeded vigorouſly to repair them. The old Iriſh of the North, who were now expected to be the beſiegers, had rendered themſelves generally odious by their barbarities, and were objects of particular horror to the Engliſh inhabitants of Dublin. To animate their zeal againſt theſe murderers of their countrymen, the marchioneſs of Ormond, and other women of quality, appeared at their head, aſſiſting the workmen in carrying materials to the fortifications. But amidſt all theſe preparations for defence, the lieutenant was fully ſenſible of his preſent deſperate ſituation. He was totally unprovided for the ſupport of an army; he neither could maintain the out-garriſons, nor draw them into Dublin, on account of increaſing the general diſtreſs. The moment that the enemy ſhould take poſſeſſion of the adjacent country, the exciſe, and all his wretched temporary reſources muſt utterly fail. He had mortgaged his eſtate for twenty-three thouſand pounds, expended in the public ſervice; and two thouſand more, received from his tenants at Kilkenny, were quickly exhauſted in purchaſing ſubſiſtence for a few days. While he could not maintain a ſiege, he could as little treat with the Iriſh, or rely on their adhering to any treaty. The whole power of the confederate Catholics had now devolved on the old Iriſh, the moſt deſperate and barbarous, as well as the moſt hoſtile, to all of Engliſh race, whom they threatened even with extirpation. To men ſo diſpoſed he could not ſubmit: the parliamentarians he deteſted; yet, in order to preſerve the appearance of an Engliſh government in Ireland, at length condeſcended to ſeek relief from the parliament at London. He required an immediate reinforcement of three thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, three months pay for his army thus augmented, ſecurity for the perſons and eſtates of his adherents, of thoſe who had for ſome time after the rebel-

lion been forced to continue in Iriſh quarters, of all unoffending Catholics, and of ſuch rebels as by the lieutenant and council, with conſent of the Engliſh parliament, ſhould be admitted as adherents to the king's proteſtant ſubjects. On theſe conditions he engaged to carry on the war, as he ſhould be enabled and directed by the parliament. It was, however, intimated by his agents, that, rather than the ſupplies ſhould be obſtructed, the lieutenant and council would, with the king's permiſſion, reſign their patents, provided that their perſons and eſtates were ſecured, and that they were indemnified from their public engagements. The latter overture only was accepted: commiſſioners were named to treat with Ormond for the ſurrender of his government and garriſons; and, in the mean time, two thouſand foot and three hundred horſe were ordered for the immediate relief of Dublin[o].

Rinunccini, in confidence of ſucceſs, now concerted his enterprize againſt the capital. As his reliance was on Owen O'Nial, his favour was confined to this general and his army. The aſſiſtance of Preſton was rather accepted than deſired; and the nuncio betrayed ſuſpicion of his fidelity, by requiring him to take an oath that he would proceed with vigour in the ſiege of Dublin. The forces of O'Nial were violent and indiſcriminate in their ravages. The gentry of Leinſter flocked in great numbers to Preſton for defence againſt the barbarous Northerns. Thus, by the indiſcretion of the nuncio, and the outrages of his favourite troops, his two generals became rivals, and their forces were ready to draw the ſword againſt each other: they both, however, advanced towards Dublin, at the head of ſixteen thouſand foot and ſixteen hundred horſe; and, when they approached the capital, they ſent to the marquis of Ormond their propoſitions, to which his immediate anſwer was required. They demanded that the exerciſe of the Romiſh religion ſhould be as free and public in all the Engliſh garriſons as in Paris or Bruſſels; and that Dublin, Drogheda, Trim, Newry, Carlingford, and other places in the Engliſh quarters, ſhould be garriſoned by Catholics. Ormond, though ſurrounded with difficulties, diſdained an anſwer to propoſitions ſo inſolent. Thirty barrels of powder, received from a parliament ſhip, was the only proviſion for defence he had been able to make. He applied to the parlia-

[o] Nelſon.

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mentary agents reſiding in Ulſter; but they refuſed to procure him any ſuccours, unleſs he ſhould deliver Drogheda into their hands. He addreſſed himſelf to the Scots of this province; but theſe, though ſeemingly inclined to the king's ſervice, were ſo much weakened by their detachments to Scotland, and their defeat at Benburb, that they could not furniſh the ſuccours he required. He nevertheleſs entertained ſome faint hopes from the approach of winter, and the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, which might render it impracticable for the enemy to lie long encamped before the city. The more to obſtruct their enterprize, he demoliſhed all the mills and bridges, and deſtroyed the corn within ſeveral miles of Dublin.

The enemy now approached, and took their ſtations near the city, with an appearance highly formidable; but their forces were not ſufficiently provided againſt the inclemency of the ſeaſon, and impoveriſhed condition of the country [p]. The animoſities of the Leinſter and Ulſter generals alſo continued to ſubſiſt; and they mutually counteracted all the plans of each other. The nuncio was alarmed at this diſſenſion, and was with difficulty diſſuaded from committing Preſton to cuſtody. O'Nial affected to dread ſome inſidious deſign againſt him and his forces. The jealouſies and reſentments of the leaders were propagated among the officers of each party. Thoſe of Leinſter expreſſed contempt and abhorrence of the barbarous Northerns; while the latter retorted with the opprobrious appellation of Engliſhmen, and threatened deſtruction to the inhabitants of Ulſter, when Ireland ſhould revert to the race of its original and rightful poſſeſſors.

Lord Digby was ſolicitous to take advantage of theſe animoſities, ſo far, at leaſt, as to detach Preſton from the confederacy, and, by uniting him with Ormond, to prevent the hateful treaty with the Engliſh parliament. Though the lieutenant deſpiſed and ſuſpected the faith and ſtability of Preſton, yet the marquis of Clanricarde, at the inſtances of Digby, repaired to the confederates, with the view of reconciling, if poſſible, the whole body of the Iriſh to peace, on what he deemed reaſonable terms. As a Catholic of diſtinguiſhed character, he was received with due reſpect, and commenced a treaty with the nuncio and his council. He undertook for the repeal of all laws againſt Catholics; that they ſhould retain poſſeſſion of the churches until the king's pleaſure ſhould be

[p] Nelſon. Carte.

ſignified upon a ſettlement of the nation; that the queen and prince ſhould confirm theſe articles, and the crown of France be guarantee for their performance. The nuncio, in the extravagance of his expectations, objected to theſe overtures as ſtill inſufficient; though they were warmly ſupported by the moderate and ſenſible part of the confederates. In the midſt of their debates, intelligence arrived, that the forces of the Engliſh parliament were landed in Dublin. They ſtarted from the council: O' Nial called off his men from their poſts, and decamped in the night. The ſupreme council haſtened to Kilkenny, whither they were followed by the nuncio; while Preſton and his officers continued the negociation with Clanricarde; promiſing, on ſecurity for the conditions he propoſed, to obſerve the late peace, to be obedient to the king's authority, and to unite with Ormond againſt all his enemies.

The lieutenant, thus extricated from his immediate danger, was more at leiſure to treat with the commiſſioners ſent by the Engliſh parliament. They ſaw the wretched ſtate of Dublin, and concluded that Ormond muſt purchaſe their ſupplies on any terms. The proteſtant inhabitants, regarding theſe men as their deliverers, urgently petitioned that their forces ſhould be admitted into the city; and Ormond found it neceſſary to comply ſo far with their demands, that he permitted the ſoldiers to debark, and take their quarters peaceably in the ſuburbs. From the progreſs of Clanricarde, ſome hope ſtill remained of an accommodation with the Iriſh. He therefore treated with the commiſſioners, not as a man reduced to extremity, but in a ſituation to ſpurn at terms inconſiſtent with his rank and character. They propoſed to take the Proteſtants of Ireland under the protection of the parliament, and to allow the marquis his eſtate, or an annual penſion of two thouſand pounds for five years, if he ſhould not receive ſo much from his rents. On theſe conditions they demanded that he ſhould reſign his government. He objected to the indefinite terms in which they had expreſſed their overtures on different heads; and declared, that he found it neceſſary to retain the charge entruſted to him. In the mean time, that the kingdom might not be deprived of their ſuccours, he propoſed that their ſoldiers ſhould be diſtributed into garriſons, until his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known, and their inſtructions from the parliament enlarged; and that they ſhould ſupply him with three thouſand pounds for the uſe of the army.

army. These propositions were rejected, the forces were re-embarked, and conveyed to Ulster, where the Scots with difficulty consented to receive them [9].

During this negociation Ormond found himself insensibly involved in another transaction, which afforded him much perplexity. The marquis of Clanricarde, in his treaty with general Preston, had promised the security of the queen and prince for the advantages stipulated in favour of religion. To render this effectual, it was necessary that Ormond should engage to obey all orders in favour of the Catholics received from the queen or prince, or such as should be certified by lord Digby, secretary to the king, to be his majesty's real desire. But the marquis had great reason to apprehend that such a promise might bind him to the most extravagant and dangerous concessions, such as he had hitherto rejected with disdain. Digby required him to declare, that the king's gracious intentions to secure the Catholics in the free exercise of their religion, were purposely omitted in the last articles of peace, by the subtlety of some of the Romish party, in order to inflame the people against a treaty so essentially defective. This declaration, he well knew, was inconsistent with truth. He was to promise that no advantage should be taken of the omission; but that the penal laws should be repealed, and the churches left in the possession of the Catholics until his majesty's pleasure should be known. This again were to adopt the religious articles granted by Glamorgan. He was not only to employ Preston and his officers, and to grant them commissions under the marquis of Clanricarde, who was to take the command of the catholic forces, but to admit these troops into the king's garrisons; and particularly to receive some of Preston's regiments into Dublin; a measure which would not only be dangerous, but highly offensive to the protestant party. Ormond, while in treaty with the parliamentary commissioners, neither took notice of the engagements of Clanricarde, nor returned any answer to the solicitations of Digby; but, on the departure of these commissioners, he stated his objections to the particulars required of him; and for his compliance with which Clanricarde had precipitately engaged. Digby exerted all his ingenuity to reconcile them to his judgment and principles. Both lords expressed the utmost confidence in Preston's professions of attachment to the king's service;

[9] Ware.

and

and both entertained the most sanguine hopes from reconciling him to the government. Ormond, wearied by importunity, at length consented to write to Preston, a man whom he still suspected and despised. He first assured him in general terms, that he and his officers, on submission to the peace, should receive all due encouragement; and was afterwards persuaded to promise him, that, in reliance on his fidelity, he and his army should be employed both in the field and in the king's garrisons. In another ostensible letter to the marquis of Clanricarde, he declared his resolution of obeying all the king's free commands in favour of Irish Catholics, or, during his restraint, all the commands of the queen and prince, or the intimations of his majesty's pleasure from his secretary, lord Digby.

The negociation of Clanricarde now seemed happily concluded, and this nobleman received his commission to command the Leinster army. Preston consented to become his major-general; consulted with Ormond on the operations of war; engaged to make an attempt for securing Waterford and Kilkenny, and was speedily to be joined by the lord-lieutenant and his forces. When he had begun his march some agents of the nuncio suddenly appeared, who commanded him to stop and disperse his forces, and, in case of disobedience, denounced the sentence of excommunication on him and all his followers. The bigot was terrified, and easily brought to a full reconciliation with the nuncio and his party. Ormond was on his march to join the Leinster army when Clanricarde, who attended him, to his utter confusion and mortification, received a letter from Preston, containing the intelligence that his officers had all been driven from their resolutions by the terrors of excommunication, and therefore advising, that the lieutenant should proceed no farther, but wait the issue of a general assembly at Kilkenny. In three days after this mean apology, he published a formal renunciation of his treaty with Clanricarde, on pretence that articles were not performed on the part of the government.

Ormond was neither surprised at this perfidy, nor formed any hopes from the new general assembly; but, to deprive the Irish of all excuse, he resolved to struggle with his difficulties a little longer, and to wait the result of this meeting. While the necessities of Dublin obliged him to march into West Meath to seek subsistence for his troops, this assembly was convened; and the most extravagant

vagant propoſitions were preſented by the nuncio and his clergy. They demanded the full eſtabliſhment of popery; the excluſive poſſeſſion of all churches and benefices in the kingdom; the repeal of the common law ſo far as it gave the crown any eccleſiaſtical power; liberty to erect popiſh univerſities; to appoint proviſions to all church-dignities, and to exerciſe their eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction in its full extent; and they required a new oath for continuing the aſſociation until theſe points ſhould be effectually obtained. The ſubſtance of theſe propoſitions was readily accepted. The late peace was condemned by a formal reſolution, and the nuncio inſiſted on cenſuring thoſe commiſſioners who had tranſacted it; but in oppoſing this violence the aſſembly was betrayed into a ridiculous inconſiſtency. They voted, that the commiſſioners had acted honeſtly in making, and the clergy alſo in violating the peace; which, at the ſame time, in contradiction to the ſenſe of the French court, ſignified by its miniſter, and in contempt of a ſpirited remonſtrance from the marquis of Ormond, they pronounced to be null and void[r].

All hope of any Iriſh ſubcours, with which the government had been ſo long amuſed, was now extinguiſhed; and Ormond, after a ſeries of toilſome efforts for the intereſts of his ſovereign, found himſelf deceived, deſtitute, and abandoned. Unable any longer to ſupport the king's cauſe, or protect his proteſtant ſubjects, he determined, as his laſt reſource, to depoſit the rights of the crown with the Engliſh parliament. The privy-council concurred in a meaſure which was become ſo neceſſary; and it was approved by a parliament held in Dublin. The king was now delivered up to the commiſſioners appointed by the two houſes to receive him from the Scots; and Ormond was aſſured, his majeſty had ſignified his pleaſure, that, in extreme neceſſity, he ſhould ſubmit rather to the Engliſh than the Iriſh. But though the king's private letters afforded Ormond ſtrong reaſon to doubt the truth of theſe aſſurances, yet they ſerved to juſtify to the public the reſolution he had formed, and which was now unavoidable. He wrote to the parliament-commiſſioners, offering to reſign his government and garriſons on their own conditions.

The confederates, who had ever profeſſed loyalty to the king, were not entirely inſenſible to the odium of

[r] Carte.

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forcing his lieutenant into a ſubmiſſion to his enemies; and at leaſt affected a ſolicitude for preventing it, by renewing their overtures for an accommodation. But, as the nuncio ſtill influenced their councils, the terms offered by the agents were inſolent and extravagant. They ſerved, however, to give the marquis ſome reſpite until his treaty with the parliament ſhould be concluded. Lord Inchiquin now regarded him as a friend, ſent him ſome ſupplies, and conſulted him on his operations againſt the Iriſh in Munſter. This lord was at the head of five thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe, and was reinforced from England. He took ſeveral places from the Iriſh, and threatened Waterford with a ſiege. To oppoſe his progreſs, Preſton was recalled from his petty expeditions in Leinſter; for O'Nial would obey no orders, not even of the nuncio, though his rapacious followers called themſelves the pope's army. This refractory leader had lately been made general of Connaught; he was in poſſeſſion of ſome counties of Leinſter, and in all the Iriſh quarters through the northern province abſolute commander. His affectation of independency, his ſubtle, dark, and enterpriſing temper, with the inſolence of his followers, who claimed the whole iſland as the property of the old Iriſh, filled the confederates with great apprehenſions and diſcontents. Thoſe of Leinſter, and all the Catholics of the Engliſh race, dreaded extirpation from theſe ſavages; ſo that the Iriſh inſurgents, who had extorted the moſt abject conceſſions from the king, and preſcribed law to his lieutenant, were now on the point of breaking into virulent factions, and declaring deſperate war againſt each other[s].

Apparently, however, they continued ſo powerful, and were ſo infatuated by an ambitious and ignorant clergy, that no inteſtine diſorders could abate their extravagance.

A.D. 1647. The propoſitions of the marquis of Ormond were accepted by the parliament, and their treaty commenced: but before it was concluded, and when Ormond, by the delay of the ſuccours which had been promiſed in the mean time, was ſtill at liberty to recede, Leyburne, one of the queen's chaplains, arrived in Ireland under the fictitious name of Winter Grant. He was ſent with expedients for promoting a peace, and directed to act entirely in concert with the marquis of Ormond. The Iriſh had

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now a fair opportunity of correcting their errors, and treating, by means of this agent, on moderate terms. They, indeed, offered their propoſitions by Grant; but they were the ſame that had formerly been rejected, and were again rejected with diſdain. Nothing now remained for Ormond but to conclude his treaty with the parliament. Four hoſtages, among whom was his ſecond ſon, afterwards earl of Arran, were ſent to England for the performance of his ſtipulations. A conſiderable force marched out of Ulſter to Dublin, where reinforcements from England were alſo admitted. On the 19th of June the articles were ſigned: Ormond engaged to deliver up Dublin, and all the king's garriſons, his ordnance, ammunition, and ſtores, with the ſword of ſtate, and other enſigns of government, on the 28th of the ſucceeding month, or ſooner, if required by the parliament, on notice of four days. The commiſſioners on their part promiſed, that Proteſtants ſhould be protected; that all who choſe to attend the marquis out of Ireland ſhould have free liberty to depart; that popiſh recuſants, who had not been engaged in the rebellion, might reſt ſecurely on the favour of the parliament, according to their future behaviour; and that the marquis of Ormond ſhould have liberty to reſide in England, on condition of ſubmitting to the ordinances of the parliament. They acknowleged that the ſum expended by him in the king's ſervice, amounted to thirteen thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-ſeven pounds. They engaged to pay three thouſand of this ſum before his departure, and to ſecure the remainder by bills of exchange.

The parliamentarians were now complete maſters of Dublin, where they ſcorned to delay the exerciſe of their authority until Ormond ſhould depart[t]. Scarcely had the treaty been ſigned when the commiſſioners, by their own authority, without any ordinance of parliament, prohibited the uſe of the liturgy, the only form of worſhip eſtabliſhed by law, and obtruded the directory in its room. The Iriſh Catholics had already refuſed the leaſt toleration of the eſtabliſhed worſhip in any place ſubject to their power; and, in the extravagance of their expectations, had diſputed whether the king ſhould be allowed one chapel in the capital, when their dominion ſhould extend over the whole kingdom. With the ſame ſpirit of bi-

[t] Carte.

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gotry these zealous reformers rejected the remonstrance of the clergy, and thundered their menaces against the heinous guilt of worshipping God in any other form than their own. They were impatient for the departure of Ormond, who had delayed the resignation of his authority until the 28th of July, in hopes of obtaining permission to transport five thousand men for the service of France. But this overture was rejected by parliament, though the troops were to be formed of their enemies. On the 16th of this month their commissioners summoned him to remove from the castle, and deliver the regalia within four days. He could not oppose their demand; but as his present removal was inconvenient, he contented them with resigning the castle to the custody of their own guards; and the ceremonial of delivering his sword was by agreement deferred to the day mentioned in the treaty.

The moderate among the confederates were now thrown into the utmost consternation; convinced, at last, of their own errors, and the extravagances of their party[u]. Owen O'Nial became every day more terrible: he was with difficulty restrained by the nuncio from seizing Kilkenny; and the Catholics of Munster were every moment under the apprehension of being exposed to his depredations. Their new general, Glamorgan, discovered too great an inclination to concur with this leader of the papal army. Lord Muskerry, the rival of this earl, and the enemy of the nuncio and O'Nial, at the moment that his destruction was meditated, fled to the Munster army, was received as their leader, and Glamorgan deposed. It was, however, still apprehended, that the turbulence of the nuncio must increase, and that, on the departure of the marquis of Ormond, O'Nial would attempt some desperate purpose. Some of the principal confederates, and even Preston himself, were now convinced, that their preservation depended on a union with Ormond; and, in a private conference with lord Digby, they earnestly entreated that the marquis would delay his departure from Ireland; but their application was too late, and their sincerity too justly suspected. He left the regalia to be delivered to the commissioners, embarked on the day appointed, and landed at Bristol.

[u] Carte.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

From the Departure of the Marquis of Ormond, to the Reſtoration of Charles II.

IRELAND, on the departure of the marquis of Ormond, ſeemed reduced to its ancient ſtate of anarchy and diſtraction. In the capital, colonel Michael Jones was appointed governor by the parliament, and commander of their forces in Leinſter. The inhabitants, who had been accuſtomed to the ſtate and decorum of Ormond and his court, were at once ſhocked at the vulgar manners of this republican and his train, and provoked at his ſeverity. Theſe ſoldiers plundered the citizens, inſulted their officers; and Jones, who could not ſupply their neceſſities, found it neceſſary to connive at their outrage. Three different armies of Catholics were quartered in different ſtations. Owen O'Nial, and his barbarous followers, were equally enemies to king and the Engliſh parliament, profeſſing an entire obedience to the pope and his nuncio. The army of Preſton, and that of Munſter, ſeemed at length convinced of the error and obſtinacy of their party, wiſhed for the return of Ormond, and were inveterate enemies to the parliamentarians. The Scots of Ulſter were offended at the late proceedings of England, and averſe to the preſent government. In Munſter, lord Inchiquin was incenſed at ſome attempts to remove him from his command, during the time that lord Liſle reſided in this province with the inſignificant title of the parliament's chief governor. On the ſame principle which had ſeduced him from the ſervice of the king, he was now diſpoſed to abandon his preſent maſters. Such was the ſtate of confuſion in which the affairs of Ireland were now involved.

Lord Digby, who ſtill reſided near Dublin, was indefatigable in practiſing againſt the parliamentarians, and to effect the return of Ormond. His dependence was on the catholic armies of Munſter and Leinſter; and with their leaders he concerted his deſigns. The Munſter army was now entruſted to the command of lord Taafe, with the conſent of Muſkerry, that the latter might have leiſure to attend the ſupreme council, and ſupport the intereſts of their party in this aſſembly. That of Preſton conſiſted of ſeven thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, ready

ready for action; and with this force he advanced into the Engliſh quarters, where he ſoon reduced Naas, and ſome other inconſiderable places, and had the honour of repelling Jones in two ſkirmiſhes. By inveſting Trim, he again called out this general; and, by the advice of lord Digby, reſolved to ſeize the advantage of his abſence from the capital, where the garriſon was weak, and many of the inhabitants diſaffected to the parliament. By a forced march, Preſton advanced towards Dublin, in full hope of ſurpriſing it. Jones purſued with equal alacrity; and, at a place called Dungan-hill, the armies came to an engagement. The Engliſh general having been reinforced by ſome northern troops, his numbers were nearly equal to thoſe of Preſton. They ruſhed upon the Iriſh with intrepidity, inflamed by an enthuſiaſtic hatred; and, though they fought without regard to orders, they ſoon obtained a complete and bloody victory. As Jones could not improve this advantage, from the want of proviſions, he returned to Dublin poſſeſſed of the enemies arms, cannon, and baggage, with a number of priſoners, ſeveral of diſtinguiſhed rank and conſequence; while Preſton fled with his horſe to Carlow, where he collected the ſhattered remains of his infantry.

The nuncio, and his creatures, were apprehenſive, that, if Preſton got poſſeſſion of Dublin, he would reſign it to Ormond, and invite the prince of Wales into Ireland; a meaſure which might end in the ſubverſion of all their fantaſtical projects. They received with joy the intelligence of his defeat; and recalling O'Nial from ſome petty hoſtilities which he carried on in Connaught, entruſted him with the defence of Leinſter; while Preſton had the mortification of receiving from the ſupreme council an order, to reſign moſt of his remaining forces to his rival.

The preſervation of the Munſter army, under lord Taafe, became now of greater conſequence; and the general ſeemed determined to act with proportionable circumſpection. Lord Inchiquin was obliged to exert himſelf with vigour againſt the Iriſh, not only to ſupply the neceſſities of his troops, but to allay the ſuſpicions of the Engliſh parliament. He over-ran ſome counties, and took ſeveral forts, among which was Cahir, an ancient caſtle of great ſtrength. By the poſſeſſion of this place, a way was opened for his famiſhed troops to range freely over the fertile county of Tipperary; where, without any oppoſition from Taafe, he continued his progreſs, and advanced againſt the city of Caſhel. The inhabitants fled to

their

their cathedral, ſeated on a rock well fortified, and provided with a ſtrong garriſon. Inchiquin offered to leave them unmoleſted, on condition that they would advance him three thouſand pounds, and a month's pay for his army. But this propoſal being imprudently rejected, he took the place by ſtorm, with conſiderable ſlaughter both of the citizens and ſoldiery. Here he obtained a great booty; yet ſtill not ſufficiently provided for keeping the field, on the approach of winter he diſperſed his army into garriſons.

It happened, that, in ſtorming the rock of Caſhel, about twenty eccleſiaſtics had fallen in the indiſcriminate ſlaughter. The nuncio inveighed againſt this incident, as an effect of the moſt ſacrilegious cruelty, and clamoured for revenge. His zeal was ſeconded by his whole party; and lord Taafe was obliged take the field in the month of November. Inchiquin collected his forces, and encountered him at a place called Knocknoneſs. The left wing of the Iriſh, commanded by lord Taafe, was quickly broken, nor could he ſtop the flight, though he killed ſeveral of the fugitives with his own hand. On the right, an officer of the family of Mac-Donnel, famed in the Iriſh wars, under the name of Rolkitto, or the *Left-handed*, commanded a gallant body of Highlanders, ſupported by two regiments of horſe. After one diſcharge of muſketry, the Highlanders, according to their cuſtom, fell ſword in hand upon the enemy, whom, after breaking, they purſued with great ſlaughter, and ſeized the cannon and carriages. On the return of Inchiquin to the aſſiſtance of his left wing, they were abandoned by the cavalry, and by the fall of Rolkitto left without a commander[a]. Yet ſtill they maintained their ground, until ſeven hundred of their number were ſlaughtered; when the remains of this brave body laid down their arms, and accepted quarter. In this action, more than three thouſand Iriſh, the flower of the Munſter army, were cut to pieces; and to render Inchiquin's victory more complete, he got poſſeſſion of ſix thouſand arms, all the enemy's baggage and artillery, with their general's tent and cabinet, and thirty-eight colours and ſtandards.

The more temperate of the confederates, confirmed in their ſentiments by theſe diſaſters, reſolved to contend no longer with the pride and violence of the nuncio, and the outrages of O'Nial, but to abandon a cauſe, which ſerved

[a] Borlaſe.

only to deſolate the kingdom, by the united calamities of war and famine. Lord Muſkerry prevailed on them, with difficulty, to make one effort more to avert the impending ruin of their country, by labouring to effectuate a peace. For this purpoſe, it was in the firſt place neceſſary that they ſhould gain a ſuperiority in the general aſſembly now ſummoned to Kilkenny; and they applied themſelves with ſo much vigour and ſucceſs for attaining that object, that the nuncio ſoon diſcovered the deſign of ſubverting his power, and reſolved to counteract it. He had recommended eleven perſons to Rome to be made biſhops; and he prevailed on the ſupreme council, formed of his creatures, to ſummon theſe eccleſiaſtics by writ to the aſſembly. The lawyers objected, that their bulls were not yet arrived; that they were not conſecrated, nor inveſted with their temporalities. At firſt, the nuncio declared he would conſecrate them himſelf; but, as the ſafer and more expeditious method, ordered them to take their ſeats directly. The aſſembly, over-awed by his reſolution, acquieſced; and the nuncio, of conſequence, grew more inſolent. Ulſter had uſually ſent ſixty-three members to the general aſſembly; but nine only now attended from this province. He inſiſted, that, as the war had prevented a full election, theſe nine ſhould be allowed ſixty-three voices; but the oppoſite party proved ſtrong enough to reject this extravagant propoſal. In ſpite of all the oppoſition of Rinunccini, the aſſembly now declared almoſt unanimouſly for peace; and, for this purpoſe, reſolved to ſend agents to the queen and prince in France, the only perſons with whom they could commence a treaty. The nuncio, dreading this deputation, as the firſt ſtep to recalling Ormond, and inviting the prince of Wales to Ireland, oppoſed it with all his power. He preſſed the aſſembly to addreſs themſelves to Rome, and to implore the protection of the pope: and ſo far were his inſtances ſucceſsful, that it was reſolved to ſend deputations to Rome and Madrid, as well as to France. The choice of theſe agents was a point of delicate diſcuſſion. The opponents of the nuncio laboured for the nomination of ſuch perſons as were likely to obſtruct their meaſures, if continued in the aſſembly. By their management, the popiſh biſhop of Ferns, and Nicholas Plunket, two turbulent partizans, were appointed to repair to Rome. But, on their proceeding to nominate Mac-Mahon of Clogher to go to France, in conjunction with lord Muſkerry

Muskerry and Geoffry Browne, this zealous adherent of the nuncio saw through their design, and insolently refused to obey the order of the assembly. This audacious conduct raised a considerable ferment; but so effectually was Mac-Mahon supported by the nuncio, that it was found necessary to substitute the marquis of Antrim in his place.

The election of the agents being adjusted, their instructions became a point in which the nuncio was particularly interested. He and his clergy had, in the fulness of their insolence, subscribed a declaration, that they never would consent that either the queen or prince should be invited into Ireland, until the pope's articles relative te religion were secured; that any but a Roman Catholic should ever be appointed chief-governor; that the forts and armies of the confederates should ever be delivered to heretics, or that any peace should be concluded which should lessen the present state and public exercise of their religion. They now contended, that the instructions of the agents destined to France, should be submitted to their inspection, and modelled agreeable to this declaration. The opposite party suffered these zealous churchmen to amuse themselves with framing the instructions, and inserting all their extravagant demands; as Muskerry and Browne had privately agreed to neglect them, and not to insist upon demands which had been already rejected, which must ever meet with the same fate, or which tended to subject their country to a foreign power; now the favourite and avowed design of the clergy and the old Irish.

As the session of the assembly drew towards a conclusion, each party was solicitous about the choice of members of the supreme council; but, after some debates, it was at length agreed, that the council should be formed equally of both. Lord Muskerry artfully suggested, that as the public affairs might call away several members from their attendance, it was proper to appoint some supernumeraries to supply their places. His proposal was hastily embraced; and among these eventual counsellors, he contrived to introduce forty-eight of his own partizans, to the utter confusion of the nuncio [b].

Meanwhile, the agents who had been sent to France, arrived at St. Germain's, and were graciously received by the queen and prince. Notwithstanding her majesty's partiality to the marquis of Antrim, she soon learned that

[b] Borlase. Nalson.

her attention was to be given chiefly to lord Muſkerry and Geoffry Browne, as men of more power and political conſequence. She conferred with them in private; when they produced ſecret inſtructions, ſigned by Preſton and lord Taafe, by which they were directed to aſſure her of the unſhaken loyalty of their party, and unalterable adherence to the king's cauſe, in ſpite of thoſe who laboured to introduce a foreign juriſdiction into Ireland, to entreat the countenance and aſſiſtance of her majeſty, and the prince; and to propoſe, as the meaſure moſt effectual for ſupporting the royal authority, that the prince ſhould come over with arms and money, and avail himſelf of the aſſiſtance of his well-affected ſubjects, by condeſcending to their moderate requeſts. Having thus executed their private commiſſion, they attended Antrim to a public audience, and preſented the propoſitions dictated by the clergy, as the mere ceremonial of their deputation.

In theſe tranſactions the queen found an able counſellor in the marquis of Ormond. On his departure from Ireland, this nobleman had been permitted to preſent himſelf before the king at Hampton-Court, and was received with the affection due to his ſtrenuous exertions in the royal cauſe. The king conſulted him with the utmoſt confidence, and when the jealouſies of the army forced the marquis to return to London, directed him to confer with the Scottiſh commiſſioners, and concert meaſures for engaging Scotland and Ireland in his ſervice. The committee of Derby-houſe was alarmed at the rumour of the marquis's ſecret negociations, and they ſought pretexts for ſeizing him. He was aſſured that a warrant had iſſued for this purpoſe, and inſtantly reſolved to eſcape to France, whither he was ſoon followed by his eldeſt ſon, lord Oſſory.

By advice of the marquis, the queen and prince returned a general and gracious anſwer to the Iriſh agents. They greatly condemned the violation of the late peace, but expreſſed their ſatisfaction that the confederates ſeemed at length to be ſenſible of their true intereſt. They alſo aſſured the agents, that a perſon ſhould be ſpeedily ſent into Ireland, to receive full and particular propoſitions from the confederates, and to grant them every reaſonable indulgence.

During theſe negociations in France, the ſupreme council was deeply impreſſed with the preſent dangerous ſituation of the catholic confederacy, whoſe armies had been almoſt totally deſtroyed by two ſucceſſive defeats. Their reſources were exhauſted, and they were every day de-

ſerted by numbers of their adherents, who purchaſed protection from the parliamentarians by grievous compoſitions. With ſome of their enemies, who were powerful in every province, it ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary to effect a ceſſation. Even the nuncio recommended a truce either with the Scots of Ulſter, or with lord Inchiquin, that the confederates might be enabled to march ſecurely to Dublin and exterminate the odious ſectaries. Lord Inchiquin was not averſe to an accommodation. Immediately after his victory at Knocknoneſs, he had ſhown ſome ſigns of diſaffection to the parliament, on account of the diſtreſſes to which his army had, by their neglect, been reduced. And though he continued his operations againſt the Iriſh, he held a ſecret correſpondence with the marquis of Ormond, and projected ſchemes for recalling him into Ireland, and uniting with him againſt the governor of Dublin and his party. Lord Broghill, ſecond to Inchiquin in command, had conceived ſome diſpleaſure againſt this lord. Ormond contrived to reconcile them, and to engage Broghill in their deſign. An emiſſary was diſpatched to the confederates to treat about a ceſſation. Taafe and Preſton bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to ſupport the king's rights, and to obey his lord lieutenant. Inchiquin entered into the ſame engagements. The Scots of Ulſter gave aſſurances of uniting with Ormond, not only againſt Owen O'Nial, and all the Iriſh who continued in their diſobedience to the crown, but againſt the independent party of England and Ireland. Thus was a powerful union concerted in favour of the royal cauſe, when ſome Engliſh officers of Munſter attached to the independent party, ſuſpecting the deſign of their general, formed a ſcheme of defeating it, by ſeizing Cork and Youghall. They were diſcovered and impriſoned. This incident, however, obliged lord Inchiquin publicly to avow his revolt, before the neceſſary meaſures were ſufficiently ſecured, and particularly before the ceſſation with the Iriſh was concluded; a point of the utmoſt importance, as it was to prepare the way for a powerful conjunction of the confederates with the proteſtant royaliſts. A.D.1648.

In this tranſaction, however, embarraſſments and delays were now experienced. The nuncio had but a few weeks before earneſtly recommended a ceſſation. Equally an enemy to the royal and popular parties, he indulged himſelf in the idea of detaching Ireland entirely from the Engliſh government, and ſubjecting it to the juriſdiction of the pope. From the moment, therefore, that Inchi-

quin declared for the king, he exclaimed loudly againſt any ceſſation with this lord. The ſupreme council repeatedly endeavoured to obviate his wild objections; when he, as uſual, had recourſe to the clergy. A number of biſhops aſſembled at his houſe, and proteſted againſt the ceſſation. The council was provoked and aſtoniſhed at this extravagance; though, being not yet ſuperior to the fear of excommunication, they heſitated at an open rupture with thoſe antagoniſts. Clanricarde, Taafe, and Preſton, laboured to confirm them in the reſolution of giving ſome relief to their diſtracted country. The ſupernumerary members of the ſupreme council ſupported the ſentiments of theſe leaders; the provincial aſſemblies of Leinſter and Munſter appeared at Kilkenny, and loudly urged the neceſſity of a ceſſation. The nuncio, and his clergy, while they raved of the church and its rights, of oppoſing heretics, and avenging the ſlaughter of their holy brethren at Caſhel, could propoſe no reaſonable ſcheme for carrying on the war. It was, therefore, reſolved, after various debates and conferences, that the ceſſation ſhould be concluded, with the declaration of mutual aſſiſtance againſt all thoſe who ſhould oppoſe it by hoſtilities. The nuncio was enraged even to a degree of phrenzy. He fled privately from Kilkenny, and caſt himſelf into the arms of his favourite O'Nial, whom he conjured to march without delay againſt the betrayers of the church. The council reſpectfully entreated him to return, and to confer temperately on public affairs. He diſclaimed all connexion with them, unleſs the generals of their Leinſter and Munſter armies were diſplaced, proviſions and quarters aſſigned to the forces of O'Nial, and the whole conduct of peace and war ſubmitted abſolutely to the clergy. He cauſed their proteſt againſt the ceſſation to be affixed on the doors of the cathedral in Kilkenny; and when this was contemptuouſly torn down, his ſentence of excommunication was thundered againſt all thoſe who contrived and favoured the ceſſation, and an interdict denounced on all places in which it ſhould be accepted or maintained [d].

Rinuccini, in the blindneſs of his preſumption, conceived that theſe ſeverities muſt have the ſame effect with the cenſures publiſhed on the peace of forty-ſix. But times and circumſtances were changed. By fulminating his ſpiritual terrors on many trivial occaſions, they ha

[d] Carte.

become

become contemptible; and men were gradually rouſed by his violences from a ſtate of implicit ſubmiſſion to his authority. The ſupreme council ventured to appeal in form againſt his cenſures; and in this they were ſupported by two archbiſhops, twelve biſhops, all the ſecular clergy of their dioceſes, by all the Jeſuits and Carmelites, many of the Auguſtinians and Dominicans, above five hundred Franciſcans, the moſt exemplary and intelligent of all thoſe legions of eccleſiaſtics which overſpread the kingdom.

The nuncio, however, was ſtill ſupported by a conſiderable party. Thoſe of the clergy who expected preferment from his favour, thoſe of the laity who looked for the reſtitution of their paternal eſtates by the expulſion of the Engliſh and Scots, they who were oppreſſed by debts, and they who ſubſiſted only by public commotions, all declared for deſperate meaſures, and flocked to the ſtandard of O'Nial; who, though ſworn to obey the orders of the confederates, ſolemnly denounced war againſt the ſupreme council and its adherents [e]. Taafe, Preſton, and Clanricarde, took vigorous meaſures for oppoſing him.

War being thus declared between the different parties of the confederates, O'Nial contrived to make a truce with the Ulſter-Scots, in order to be more at leiſure for proſecuting his operations. He collected his forces from Connaught and Ulſter; but the nuncio had now no money to ſupply them. Their ravages had procured them univerſal odium, and they ſoon found themſelves unable to contend with Preſton, reinforced by ſome troops from Inchiquin and Taafe. Athlone, which had for ſome time been occupied by the nuncio's partizans, was beſieged by Preſton and the marquis of Clanricarde; whence, before its reduction, the nuncio was driven to Galway. Here he endeavoured to convene a ſynod of the clergy, in order to confirm his cenſures by their ſanction. Clanricarde, however, by order of the ſupreme council, prevented them from aſſembling, inveſted the city, and obliging the inhabitants to proclaim the ceſſation, beſide paying a conſiderable ſum of money, and utterly renouncing the nuncio and his adherents.

This prelate, notwithſtanding the decline of his influence, continued to iſſue his cenſures, and declared thoſe who favoured or adhered to the ceſſation to be guilty of

[e] Belling. Vindiciæ.

mortal sin. Meanwhile, however, his favourite, Owen O'Nial, was permitted to make overtures of accommodation to Jones, the parliamentary governor. Jones had not been inattentive to the distractions of the Irish, but could not venture to take advantage of them, as he suspected the fidelity of his garrison. To quiet his apprehensions, he boldly seized the most suspected of his officers, some of whom he sent to England, and others he imprisoned in the castle of Dublin. At the same time, Monk, who had been entrusted by the parliament with the command of Ulster, made an irruption into this province, surprised Carricfergus, seized Monro, and sent him prisoner to England; reduced Belfast and Colerain, and stationed his garrisons on the frontiers, to restrain the incursions of the Irish. Owen O'Nial, who, in effect, declared against the marquis of Ormond, was received with open arms by these triumphant independents. Jones readily consented to an accommodation with him, and permitted him to march unmolested through Leinster, in prosecution of his designs against the common enemy. Owen, disappointed in his attempt to relieve Athlone, now formed a bold design to surprise Kilkenny, and make himself master of the whole supreme council. In this city, the capital of the Irish quarters, were many turbulent spirits, impatient for innovation, and ardent in the interests of the nuncio and O'Nial, those professed champions of the church. Of these, one Paul King, an ecclesiastic, engaged to form a party, and betray Kilkenny to O'Nial; for which design, no season could be more favourable. The marquis of Antrim had lately returned from France, disappointed in his expectations of being advanced to the government of Ireland. Full of resentment, he joined the party which opposed the cessation, and gave O'Nial the most magnificent assurances of support, by his interest in Ulster; an accession which served to increase the consequence of that chieftain, and to animate his partizans. But, though the forces of his adversaries were dispersed, the slow and cautious procedure of this general was not calculated for an enterprize of alacrity. The design on Kilkenny was discovered; and while the forces of O'Nial were ravaging the adjacent country, Inchiquin had already arrived to the assistance of the supreme council. This lord, with part of Preston's army, advanced close upon him in his depredations; when unable to contend with their united numbers, he craftily proposed an accommodation, offering to leave Munster unmolested, provided that his operations

operations in the other provinces were not oppoſed. Inchiquin, inſtead of accepting this propoſal, endeavoured to force him to an engagement; but the wary Northern eluded all his attempts, and after ſome inconſiderable ſucceſſes gained on each ſide, at length found it neceſſary to retreat to Ulſter.

The marquis of Antrim was not more ſucceeſsful in his attempts to oppoſe the ceſſation. After being reinforced by a party of Scottiſh Highlanders, and ſome Iriſh partizans at Wexford, his army was ſuddenly attacked by a detachment of the confederates, and defeated. The nuncio, diſmayed at this accident, fled to O'Nial; but the vanity of Antrim was not abated; he addreſſed himſelf to Jones, he boaſted his power in the northern province, and promiſed the moſt important ſervices againſt the Iriſh. Jones agreed to ſupport him; O'Nial conſented to ſerve under him; but his ſanguine hopes and oſtentatious engagements only ſerved, as uſual, to expoſe him to diſgrace. His inſignificance was ſoon diſcovered, and the command, which had been raſhly conferred upon him, was reſumed by O'Nial.

Meanwhile, a general aſſembly, compoſed almoſt entirely of thoſe who wiſhed for peace, was convened at Kilkenny, and condemned the exceſſes of the nuncio [f]. By Muſkerry and Browne, who were returned from France, they received aſſurances, that the marquis of Ormond was ſpeedily to follow, and to co-operate with them in reſtoring the public tranquillity. This intelligence animated them to proceed with reſolution and vigour. They ratified the ceſſation made by the ſupreme council; and declared Owen O'Nial a traitor, by proclamation. They hardly diſcovered more tenderneſs towards the nuncio. They renewed the appeal to Rome againſt his ſentence of excommunication; and, when Rinunccini contrived to have their meſſenger to the pope ſecured, and his papers ſeized, this new outrage only ſerved to inflame their reſentments. All the Catholics of Ireland, and particularly thoſe of Galway, where his influence was greateſt, were prohibited, under the ſevereſt penalties, from maintaining any correſpondence with him. At the ſame time, he had the mortification to receive a letter ſigned by the prolocutor of the aſſembly, exhorting him to depart from a kingdom ſo long harraſſed by his factious violence, and to prepare his defence againſt thoſe articles of accuſation which the aſſembly had drawn up,

[f] Borlaſe.

and

and intended to present to the pope, whose instructions he had neglected, and whose authority he had so notoriously disgraced.

When affairs were in this situation, the marquis of Ormond, at the repeated instances of lord Inchiquin, arrived at Cork, and was received with the respect due to a chief governor. The object of his enterprize was to unite the protestant and popish royalists, as the only expedient left for extricating the king from his present desperate situation. It was, in the first place, necessary to conciliate the Munster army commanded by Inchiquin. As Ormond had been disappointed in his expectations from France, and the small sums of money he had been able to procure, were exhausted, he was obliged to have recourse to artifices and evasion. He lavished his promises of an immediate supply; and particularly assured them, that the prince would send that part of the navy which had revolted to him, to some part of Munster, to assist them with large quantities of corn, and to enrich the soldiery by continual prizes. These promises were enforced by a declaration addressed to all the Protestants of Munster. For the present, the army was satisfied; and the marquis was in the next place to treat with the general assembly at Kilkenny. His authority, as lord-lieutenant, still subsisted, but his commission for concluding a peace with the confederates had expired upon the treaty made in the year 1646. The queen and prince, indeed, had given him powers to treat; but, in a transaction of so important a nature he required immediate instructions from the king. Charles was, at this time, engaged in the treaty of Newport. Among his concessions to the parliament-commissioners, he agreed, that an act should pass, rescinding all cessations and treaties with the Irish, and investing the houses with a full power of prosecuting the war in Ireland. He instantly notified this incident to his lieutenant, at the same time directing him to take no notice of his public commands, during his present state of restraint, but to obey those of the queen. Ormond, therefore, had now an additional authority, to satisfy those who might object to the insufficiency of his powers from the queen and prince.

In full expectation of receiving such authority, he had notified to the general assembly, that, agreeably to their petition presented at St. Germain's, he was sent with power to conclude a peace; and, that as little time might be lost as possible, he would expect their commissioners at his

his houſe at Carrick, about fourteen miles diſtant from Kilkenny. Their commiſſioners were appointed, to the utter mortification of the nuncio and his party. Theſe eccleſiaſtics exclaimed outrageouſly againſt the impiety of betraying the holy church, and precipitating the concluſion of a pernicious treaty, without even waiting the return of their emiſſaries from Rome, who were daily expected with vaſt ſums of money to ſupport the catholic cauſe. The aſſembly, in conſequence of theſe clamours, ſhowed ſome greater attachment to the church. A biſhop was appointed one of their commiſſioners; and he was admitted by the lord-lieutenant, contrary to his former ſentiments. Their demands on the ſcore of religion were extenſive, and became the ſubject of conference for twenty days [g].

The aſſembly, for the ſake of expediting the negociation, invited Ormond to repair to his own caſtle at Kilkenny; which he accordingly did, and was received by all orders of the people with the utmoſt reſpect. But ſoon after his arrival, a dangerous ſpirit of mutiny in the army of lord Inchiquin required his preſence in Cork. Theſe forces, confounded at the ſucceſs of the independent party, and diſappointed in their expectations of money, grew diſcontented and clamorous. Some of their officers thought it neceſſary to make their peace in time with the ruling power of England. Propoſitions, in which it was pretended that Inchiquin concurred, were ſent to the parliament. They complained of dangerous conceſſions meditated by Ormond in favour of the Iriſh; and they threw out intimations, that they would unite with Jones at Dublin, or force their way to the quarters of Owen O'Nial. The treaty was by theſe means ſuſpended. The general aſſembly conſented to continue their ſeſſion while the marquis was called away to the aſſiſtance of lord Inchiquin. Meantime, a meſſenger from the prince landed opportunely at Cork, with aſſurances, that the fleet was ſpeedily to arrive with ammunition and proviſions; that the duke of York was immediately to ſail, and that the prince of Wales was ſoon to follow. This flattering intelligence, joined to the vigilance of Inchiquin, and the addreſs of Ormond, ſoon quieted the commotions of the army. Some officers were impriſoned, others diſplaced, and ſuch meaſures taken as might ſecure their attachment in future. This commotion being ſettled, the marquis of Ormond returned to Kilkenny, to reſume his negociations.

[g] Borlaſe.

The

The Irish agents had by this time returned from Rome, loaded with reliques and benedictions, but without supplies of any kind. The pope pleaded the distresses of the holy see, which prevented him from advancing any money to the Irish; nor would he condescend on any conditions fit to be demanded in matters of religion, but left them to be governed entirely by their own discretion. This disappointment served to confirm the moderate part of the confederates in their dispositions to peace; yet still the various prejudices and interests, which prevailed in the general assembly, embarrassed the progress of the treaty. Ormond remonstrated warmly against the extravagance of their demands, and the danger of their delay. About the same time, the remonstrance of the army to the parliament of England, requiring that the king should be brought to justice, was received by lord Inchiquin, and sent to Kilkenny. Its effect in Ireland was sudden and powerful. All complaints in the protestant army were immediately silenced; and the confederates, struck with a violent impression of the king's situation, and probably of their own danger, at once acceded to the terms proposed by Ormond. The treaty was accordingly concluded, the peace proclaimed. In respect of civil affairs, the articles were generally copied from those of the year forty-six. In religion, the concessions of the marquis of Ormond were such as he had formerly rejected with firmness, and such as had been generally held in abhorrence by the Protestants. All the penal statutes were to be repealed, and the Catholics left to the free exercise of their religion. They were not, indeed, expressly allowed their ecclesiastical jurisdiction, nor the grant of churches and church-livings; nor were they expressly restrained in these points. On the contrary, they were secured in the possession of such churches as they now held, until the king's pleasure should be freely declared. That greater precision was not used, and more extensive concessions granted in these articles, was imputed entirely to the limited powers of the lieutenant. In order to allay the fears of those who were conscious of their former perfidy and guilt, and dreading that the articles of the present treaty might not be observed, the marquis even consented to divest himself of the power inherent in his office. Twelve persons, styled Commissioners of Trust, were nominated by the general assembly, to be joint sharers in the authority of the lord-lieutenant[h]; so that he could neither

[h] Clarendon's History of the Irish Rebellion.

levy

levy soldiers, raise money, nor even erect garrisons, without the approbation of a majority of these commissioners. Ormond, sensible that such concessions as he had made must prove highly offensive to the zealous Protestants, instantly published a declaration to explain and justify his treaty. He professed, that his care for the protestant religion, and the interests of the crown, had been continued through his whole conduct, to the conclusion of the peace; that he had made no accommodation with those who had any share in the barbarities committed in the beginning of the rebellion; and that he had not condescended to any articles, until the treaty between the king and the parliament had been broken off, and the army proclaimed their horrid design against the king's life.

Whatever hopes the marquis conceived from his liberal concessions to the Irish, it was now too late to serve his royal master. Charles was brought to his trial; and, before the intelligence of the Irish treaty arrived at London, he had already received the fatal stroke. The news of this catastrophe was received by the marquis of Ormond at Youghal, on his return from visiting prince Rupert, who, to the great consolation of the royalists, had arrived at Kinsale, with the fleet so long expected. He instantly proclaimed the prince of Wales king, and caused the like proclamation to be made in all places subject to his authority. Such was the detestation expressed by the Irish at the execution of Charles, that the nuncio at once concluded the whole party would submit to the lord-lieutenant. At length, become desperate, he resolved to retire from a country, which he had so long distracted by his senseless ambition. He embarked privately; and, from France, continued to inflame the Irish clergy by his letters, until he was recalled to Rome.

A.D. 1649.

Charles II. proclaimed.

The marquis of Ormond had now a variety of enemies to encounter. The capital was under the jurisdiction of the parliament; and Jones, the republican governor, expected a powerful reinforcement. The British forces of Ulster professed an abhorrence of the king's death; but their abhorrence of the Irish was equally violent; and they neither acceded to the peace, nor acknowleged the authority of the lord-lieutenant. Owen O'Nial, who commanded a formidable army, still declared in favour of the nuncio's measures, and bade defiance to the royal party; while, beside this host of surrounding foes, sir Charles Coote maintained Derry for the English parliament. The only expedient which Ormond could now

pursue

purſue, was, if poſſible, to reconcile ſome of theſe enemies. He began with applying to O'Nial, who conſented to a treaty, which, however, was broken off, by the jealouſy of the commiſſioners of truſt. The marquis next addreſſed himſelf to Coote; but this officer returned only vague and general profeſſions, on which no dependence could be placed. He endeavoured in the laſt place to practiſe with Jones, who declared his firm reſolution of adhering to his principles and party, and ſupporting the Engliſh intereſt. Amidſt ſo many diſappointments, it was little conſolation, that the Britiſh forces of Ulſter declared for the king, and blocked up ſir Charles Coote in Derry [1].

Ormond found no leſs embarraſſment from the want of reſources, than from the oppoſition of his enemies. He had to collect an army from men of different religions, intereſts, and prejudices; who, after years of inteſtine war, were ill diſpoſed to enter into a general union. He had few officers on whoſe attachment or abilities he could rely. The confederates had engaged for an army of fifteen thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe; but they could not maintain this number. The rivalſhips and competitions of the leaders were alſo a fruitful ſource of perplexity to the lord-lieutenant. The marquis of Clanricarde, perceiving his diſtreſs, and actuated with a diſintereſted zeal for the royal ſervice, reſigned the poſt of lieutenant-general, to aſſiſt him in accommodating the various claimants. The commiſſioners of truſt took little care to provide magazines or money; and of ſixty thouſand pounds, which was propoſed to be levied among the confederates, no part was collected, at the time when the marquis was to take the field. He applied in perſon to ſeveral cities and incorporate towns; but theſe, without conforming to the orders of the general aſſembly, directed all contributions by their own acts, and granted, or with-held them, at their pleaſure.

He expected ſome aſſiſtance from the fleet under the command of prince Rupert; but this prince, from whatever motive, betrayed from the firſt an inclination to diſconcert his meaſures. Rupert having deſired one thouſand landmen to man his fleet, they were no ſooner granted, than his partiality to the Iriſh encouraged them to ſedition. In direct violation of the articles of peace, they were allowed to celebrate maſs in the ſea-ports; and, incited by the attendants of the prince, they inſulted the

[1] Davis.

Proteſtants,

Proteſtants, and raiſed ſuch commotions, as all the prudence and activity of lord Inchiquin could with difficulty allay. Rupert even held a correſpondence with Antrim, O'Nial, and other Iriſh malcontents. As the marquis now meditated the deſign of inveſting Dublin, the prince was requeſted to block up the harbour with his fleet. This was a meaſure which, if carried into effect, muſt have at once reduced Jones to an extremity; but, however eaſy and eſſential ſuch a ſervice, it was unaccountably declined by prince Rupert. With an obſtinacy no leſs repugnant to the intereſts of the royal cauſe, he refuſed to favour the blockade of Derry, and to cut off the ſupplies expected by ſir Charles Coote. Nor would he furniſh Ormond with the money which the king had directed him to pay to his lieutenant for the public ſervice.

Ormond now earneſtly urged that the king ſhould repair to Ireland, as the only means of giving efficacy to the royal cauſe. The power of the commiſſioners of truſt, ſo languid in their exertions, would then be diſſolved; the loyaliſts would acquire freſh ſpirits; the army of Jones would neceſſarily decreaſe; and the formidable O'Nial himſelf be reconciled to the government. He had already aſſured the king of his ſubmiſſion immediately on his arrival, provided that he were included in the act of oblivion, allowed liberty of conſcience, employed in his majeſty's army, and advanced to the dignity of an earl. And ſo far was the king convinced of the propriety of viſiting Ireland, that his heavy baggage and inferior ſervants were actually ſent thither; though he was prevented, by diſappointments, from carrying this enterprize into execution. Ormond, therefore, was obliged to proſecute the war under his own auſpices. He accordingly prepared to take the field; and determined to attempt the reduction of Dublin; the gaining of which city was, in effect, to gain the whole kingdom. For this attempt, however, he was miſerably provided: he had neither magazines nor money; and the forces on which he was to depend grew mutinous by their diſtreſſes. About two thouſand of the Munſter army, which Ormond contrived to collect in the month of May, were employed under the earl of Caſtlehaven, to reduce thoſe places in Leinſter which were ſtill poſſeſſed by the forces of Owen O'Nial; and, after ſtruggling with extreme difficulties, they performed this ſervice. Sir George Monro, having reduced the parliamentarian garriſons in the Weſt, marched to the ſupport of the army which lay before Derry. Meanwhile, the marquis of

Ormond

Ormond mustered six thousand foot, and two thousand horse, near Carlow; and, by the help of some money borrowed from private persons, put this body in motion. He, in a short time, reduced Kildare, and other places; but his progress was so much impeded by the fatal necessities of his army, that, when he had the fairest opportunity of engaging Jones to advantage, he was obliged to decline the enterprize. Not did this enemy with-hold from the basest attempts against the life of the lord-lieutenant, by practising on the officers that served under Preston; but either the plot was timely discovered, or they had not the hardiness to put it in execution.

Ormond, now reinforced by two thousand of lord Inchiquin's foot, and having received some supplies of money by the industry of Castlehaven and Taafe, proceeded in his expedition; and, in a council of war held at Naas, it was resolved to advance against Dublin. He marched to Castleknock, within cannot-shot of the gates, in hopes of raising some commotion within the capital; but afterwards found it necessary to retire to Finglass, at the distance of two miles from the city. Here receiving intelligence, that Jones had dispatched the greater part of his horse to Drogheda, which motion, by cutting off his provisions, must reduce his army to extreme distress; lord Inchiquin was sent in pursuit of them with a strong body of cavalry. He was so successful in his enterprize, that he surprised and routed the party, and laid siege to Drogheda, which he soon obliged to surrender. Nor was this all the service he performed before his return. Having received intelligence of a body of horse and foot employed to escort some ammunition sent by the parliamentarians to Owen O'Nial, he attacked and routed the horse, cut the infantry to pieces, and invested Dundalk, which Monk, by the clamour of his own soldiers, was forced to surrender [k].

On the return of Inchiquin, it was resolved to form the siege of the capital; and, while lord Dillon of Costello was left in the North with two thousand five hundred men, Ormond, with the rest of the army, crossed the Liffey, and encamped at Rathmines. Meanwhile, in the northern province, the British troops who had invested Derry, began to suspect, that the leaders of the independent party, regardless of the purpose of the covenant, had in view the unconditional restoration of the king, and the re-establishment of the hierarchy. Full of these apprehensions, they refused obedience to their general, lord Montgomery

[k] Borlase.

of

Ardes, renounced the adherents of the royal party, and deserted in great numbers. Sir Charles Coote, seizing this favourable opportunity, addressed himself to Owen O'Nial, and engaged that chieftain, by a large sum of money, to march to his relief; so that lord Ardes, whose army was too much weakened to give battle to these auxiliaries, was obliged to raise the siege of Derry, at the time when Coote was reduced to great distress. Amidst these incidents, and while Ormond was on his march to Rathmines, three English officers, Reynolds, Hunks, and Venables, arrived at Dublin with two thousand foot and six hundred horse. At the same time, intelligence was conveyed to Ormond and Inchiquin, that Cromwell lay at Bristol with a great army, and that he intended to land in Munster, where many of the inhabitants were devoted to the English parliament, and the royal garrisons were weak. By reducing that province, he would become master of the best ports of the kingdom, and cut off the provisions of the royalists; so that if Dublin should surrender, they must still have to encounter great difficulties; and, should their present enterprize prove ineffectual, their cause must be utterly desperate. It was therefore resolved, that lord Inchiquin should march to the South with three regiments of horse to strengthen the garrisons, and, by his presence, to animate the friends of the royal cause. It was likewise determined, more with the view of preventing discouragement than from any hope of success, to continue the blockade of Dublin; but that the marquis should remove from Rathmines to a more secure quarter, at a place called Drumnagh, whence he might hold a free communication with the party stationed on the north side of the river.

The reduction of Dublin, however, was an enterprize deemed practicable by many officers, who had more confidence than skill. They observed, that the enemy's horse subsisted only by the convenience of some meadows near the walls on the south side of the river; that to deprive them of this pasture, nothing more was necessary than to possess the adjoining castle, called Baggatrath, which might be sufficiently fortified in one night; and that, this object being attained, the works might be advanced securely to the river; a measure which would cut off the garrison from farther succours, and oblige them to surrender.

The overture being approved by a council of war, Ormond did not venture to prohibit it by his own authority. At

the cloſe of day, an officer was detached with fifteen hundred foot to Baggatrath. Though the caſtle lay only about a mile from the camp, yet, by the treachery of the guides, the whole night was waſted in traverſing the adjacent country, before the detachment could gain the place of its deſtination, and commence the intended works, which, in the morning, Ormond found not ſo far advanced as he expected. Parties of the enemy were diſcovered lying between this caſtle and the ſtrand. It was evidently the intention of Jones to hazard an engagement; and, as the whole army muſt now be drawn out, it ſeemed no leſs dangerous to ſupport the detachment in its operations than to cover its retreat. Ormond, in expectation of a ſally, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions; when, having retired to take ſome repoſe, after the fatigue and watching of the preceding night, he was quickly roufed by repeated vollies. He had ſcarcely rode a hundred yards, when he found Purcel, with the detachment which he commanded, driven from their works; ſir William Vaughan, another of his officers, routed and ſlain; his horſe flying, and his whole right wing completely broken. Having endeavoured in vain to rally theſe troops, he forced his way to the left; but thither the panic had already reached, and all betook themſelves to flight. Even thoſe who were ſtationed on the other ſide of the river, conſulted only their preſent ſecurity, and caſt themſelves into Trim and Drogheda; while the marquis retired to Kilkenny with ſome ſhattered remains of his army. Fifteen hundred private ſoldiers, with three hundred officers, were made priſoners; and about ſix hundred ſlain[1].

Though this diſaſter proved of no ſmall prejudice to the royal cauſe, yet Ormond remained undiſpirited. Owen O'Nial had been diſguſted by his new friends, the independents, who had rejected his overtures in England, and formally condemned the treaties made with him by Monk and Coote. He, therefore, renewed his treaty with the marquis of Ormond, whom it was expected he would ſoon join with ſix thouſand well-appointed foot, and five hundred horſe. At this time, Oliver Cromwell, by his intrigues, contrived to be choſen lord-lieutenant of Ireland, by a unanimous vote of the Engliſh parliament; and his armament being completed, he embarked for that kingdom. The late change of affairs, by the action of Rathmines, or the accidents of wind and weather, di-

[1] Carte.

verted

vetted him from his purpose of invading the southern province: he steered to Dublin, where, on the 15th of August, he landed with eight thousand foot, four thousand horse, and all the necessaries of war. He immediately entered on the exercise of his authority, by regulating all civil and military affairs, and offering indemnity and protection to all who would submit to the parliament. Having committed the care of Dublin to a new governor, sir Theophilus Jones, he took the field with ten thousand chosen men. *Cromwell arrives in Ireland.*

Ormond was now reduced to act on the defensive; and rightly judging that Cromwell would make his first attempt on Drogheda, he repaired the fortifications of this city, and committed it to the government of sir Arthur Aston, a catholic officer, distinguished by his gallantry. The garrison was augmented to two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and furnished with a suitable quantity of ammunition and provisions. Ormond now indulged the hope that the enemy's force would be speedily diminished by the inconveniences and severities of a siege, and, in the mean time, he retired, in expectation of being reinforced by lord Inchiquin [m].

But the vigour of Cromwell quickly dissipated these expectations. Declining the slow approaches of a regular siege, he immediately summoned the governor to surrender; and, on his refusal, kept an incessant fire against the walls for two days, until a sufficient breach had been effected. An assault was now made, and the besiegers twice repulsed; but in the third attempt, led by Cromwell in person, the town was gained. Quarter had been promised to all those who should lay down their arms; and the promise was observed until all resistance was at an end. But no sooner was the place totally reduced, than Cromwell, to terrify the whole Irish party, issued the inhuman orders to put the whole garrison to the sword. Many of his soldiers, with reluctance, obeyed the barbarous command. The governor, and all his gallant officers, betrayed to slaughter by some of their troops, were massacred without mercy. During five days was this horrible execution continued [n]. A number of ecclesiastics, found within the walls, excited the fanatical enthusiasm of the victor, who, as if immediately commissioned to execute divine vengeance on these ministers of idolatry, ordered his soldiers to plunge their weapons into those *Drogheda surrenders.* *Cruelty of Cromwell.*

[m] Carte. [n] Borlase.

wretched victims. A few of the garriſon made their eſcape in diſguiſe. Thirty perſons only were ſpared by the rage of an enemy glutted with carnage; and theſe were inſtantly tranſported as ſlaves to Barbadoes.

This execrable policy produced the intended effect. The garriſons of Trim and Dundalk, in their conſternation, neglected the orders of the marquis of Ormond to burn theſe towns, and demoliſh their fortifications; ſo that they were immediately poſſeſſed by the enemy. Venables, who was detached into the province of Ulſter, ſoon reduced Carlingford: Newry and Belfaſt both ſurrendered. Colerain was betrayed to ſir Charles Coote, who drove ſir George Monro from the counties of Downe and Antrim, and reduced the whole country except the caſtle of Carricfergus.

In the mean time, the marquis of Ormond was obliged to keep himſelf retired, at the head of fifteen hundred foot, and ſeven hundred horſe, moſt of them new levied, and many of the troops ſuſpected of diſaffection. He was in expectation of being reinforced by lord Inchiquin and lord Ardes; but he had neither money nor proviſions. In abſence of the commiſſioners of truſt, he iſſued his own warrants for raiſing ſupplies. The inſolent commiſſioners, regardleſs of his extreme neceſſity, complained of this procedure as an infringement of the articles of peace, and threatened to treat with the enemy. No other expedient remained but that of putting the confederate forces into garriſons; and, during the winter, which was now approaching, raiſe and diſcipline more troops. But for ſuch purpoſes the conſent of the commiſſioners was neceſſary; and theſe men had neither power nor influence with the cities moſt likely to be attacked, either to force or perſuade them to admit garriſons. Wexford, Waterford, and Limerick, peremptorily refuſed either to obey orders, or receive ſoldiers.

Ormond now ſaw no means of ſupporting the royal cauſe in Ireland without the preſence of the king; and Charles ſhowed himſelf diſpoſed to ſhare the common danger with his Iriſh ſubjects. A meſſenger was ſent from him to Ormond, to learn his opinion of the propriety of ſuch an adventure, and to preſent him with the enſigns of the order of the Garter. Ormond returned a melancholy account of the ſtate of the royaliſts; but continued to urge the expediency of his majeſty's repairing to Ireland, as the only means of retrieving, if poſſible, their ſinking cauſe. The ſquadron of prince Rupert, therefore, was

deſtined

destined to convoy the king from Jersey; and Ormond exerted all his efforts to furnish the ships with seamen and provisions. But, while things were in this train, Charles listened to new counsels; and accepted the propositions of commissioners from Scotland, who invited him into that kingdom.

In the mean time, Cromwell, notwithstanding the advanced season of the year, proceeded vigorously in his operations. He marched with nine thousand men through the county of Wicklow, while his fleet attended the motions of his army. As he advanced, the forts and towns of inferior note were at once surrendered; and, on the 1st day of October, he sat down before Wexford. The citizens, though they had hitherto neglected all means of defence, and obstinately refused to admit any troops, in their present terror, they first proposed to open their gates to the enemy. At the urgent request of the marquis of Ormond, however, they at length condescended to accept of succours; though, with an absurd fanaticism, they continued in their extremity to reject the assistance of heretics, and demanded a garrison composed entirely of men of their own religion. Ormond, being by this time considerably reinforced, threw into the city two thousand Catholics; and retiring with the remains of his army, arrived in safety at Ross.

Surrender of Wexford, and of Ross.

But all the provisions made for the defence of Wexford, could not secure it from secret treachery. One Stafford, governor of the castle, had been suspected by Ormond; but, having the merit of being a Catholic, the commissioners of trust would not consent to remove him. No sooner had Cromwell's batteries began to play than this man treacherously admitted his soldiers into the castle, by which they gained the city without resistance. With a barbarity as deliberate as had been exercised at Drogheda, they proceeded to put to the sword all who were found in arms. Cromwell next laid siege to Ross; and sent a strong detachment under the command of Ireton, to invest Duncannon. The former was immediately surrendered upon articles; but the latter made an honourable resistance. Wogan, the governor, by the assistance and encouragement of lord Castlehaven, made a sally with such vigour and success, that the enemy quickly raised the siege *.

Cromwell, now passing the river Barrow by a bridge of boats, a device which was new to the rude Irish, he

* Carte.

he obliged the marquis of Ormond, who had by this time concluded his accommodation with O'Nial, and been joined by a part of his forces, to retire gradually to the city of Kilkenny. Here he found the reſt of the northern forces ready to receive his commands. But he was deprived of the aſſiſtance of their favourite general, O'Nial, who now laboured under a grievous malady, and ſoon after died.

Ormond, encouraged by ſo powerful a reinforcement, reſolved to meet the enemy in the field; and, in an addreſs to his ſoldiers, he repreſented the neceſſity of ſuch a meaſure. They unanimouſly declared their ſentiments in favour of his deſign. He, therefore, marched in ſearch of the enemy; but Cromwell, who had advanced within five miles of Kilkenny, and reduced the fort of Knocktopher, paſſed ſuddenly with all his army over the Sure, and proceeded to the inveſtment of Waterford. This city, with the uſual obſtinacy of popiſh corporations, had with diſdain rejected the aſſiſtance of lord Caſtlehaven; but the approach of a bloody enemy rendered them more tractable. While Inchiquin was detached to recover Carrick, which Cromwell had ſurpriſed in his march, Ormond haſtened to the defence of Waterford. The citizens accepted a reinforcement of fifteen hundred Ulſter troops; and the marquis was on the point of returning to Carrick, in confidence that his forces were already maſters of the town, when he received intelligence that they had failed in their attempt, and retired to Clonmel. With the few troops he had left, he marched to the ſame place, through a country filled with conſternation, which increaſed by the reduction of Paſſage-fort. The citizens of Waterford now declared, that, unleſs they were inſtantly ſupplied with additional troops and proviſions, they could make no reſiſtance. Ormond, therefore, marched once more thither, to ſtrengthen the garriſon with a new reinforcement. On his approach, the enemy began to raiſe the ſiege with evident marks of confuſion. But, in proportion as he appeared ſucceſsful, the inſolence of the citizens revived. They now conſidered his troops as uſeleſs and burdenſome, and refuſed to ſupply boats for ferrying them over the river, to attack the rear of an army waſted by fatigue and ſickneſs, until the opportunity was loſt.

Freſh vexations and diſappointments awaited the marquis on his return to Clonmel. Antrim was detected in labouring to corrupt his ſoldiers, and inflame the diſaffection of the corporate towns. Several deſigns, likewiſe, formed

formed in Munster against the king's cause, were now on the point of being carried into execution. Cromwell, before his departure from London, had learned that lord Broghill intended to repair to the king, and accompany him into Ireland [r]. He surprised this lord by a visit; assured him that his designs were sufficiently known to the council of state; terrified him with the prospect of immediate imprisonment; and, in the end, induced him to engage in the service of the commonwealth. Broghill accordingly arrived in Ireland at this time, raised a troop to the assistance of Cromwell, and practised so successfully with the Protestants of Munster, that of a sudden, all the chief garrisons of this province declared for Cromwell.

Ormond was now obliged to give his troops some respite. He represented to the commissioners of trust the necessity of quartering them in the cities, whence they might be readily collected, at the opening of the next campaign. But, except Kilkenny and Clonmel, none of the cities could be persuaded to admit them. The magistrates of Waterford even refused his troops a passage through their city to succour Ferral, who had failed in his attempt to recover the fort of Passage. So insolent were these burghers, and so infected by the malicious suggestions of their faction, that it was even proposed in their council to seize the lord-lieutenant, and fall on all his adherents. Nothing now remained for Ormond, but to dismiss his forces to seek shelter and subsistence wherever they were most likely to procure them; and they accordingly dispersed into different quarters. Lord Ardes, and sir George Monro, in endeavouring to recover those places which had been lately lost in the counties of Down and Antrim, were routed by sir Charles Coote; Carrickfergus surrendered, and the whole northern province, Claremont and Enniskellen excepted, fell into the hands of the parliamentarians.

Great distress of Ormond.

Ormond now found himself involved in such difficulties, from the caprice of the catholic party, that he desired the king's permission to retire from Ireland. But as Charles's treaty with the Scots was to produce in England a diversion, which might have a happy effect upon his Irish interests, the lieutenant was still left to struggle with his numerous embarrassments.

In the mean time, Cromwell advanced towards Kilkenny, in reliance on the promises of an officer named

[r] Memoirs of Lord Orrery.

Tickle, who had engaged to betray the city into his hands. But the plot was discovered, and the agent executed. Ormond, at the head of a little troop, composed of his friends and domestics, so animated the citizens, and displayed such an appearance of defence, that the enemy retired; and the custody of the city and the adjacent country was entrusted to lord Castlehaven, with a body of twelve hundred men. But the fate of Kilkenny was only suspended. Cromwell again took the field about the end of February. One part of his army he entrusted to Ireton; and each commander reduced several places in his march. They met at Callan, which was instantly taken. At Gouran they received an additional reinforcement, which enabled them to invest Kilkenny with a considerable army. A plague, which had visited most parts of Ireland, raged particularly in this city, and, obliging Castlehaven to retire, reduced the garrison to about four hundred and fifty. With this body sir Walter Butler made so brave a defence, that Cromwell, despairing to gain the town with that expedition which his affairs required, began to meditate a retreat, when the mayor and citizens invited him to stay, A.D.1650. and promised to receive him into the town. His assaults were renewed, and again repelled; but, at last, the city and castle were obliged to surrender.

Reduction of Kilkenny.

Cromwell proceeded next to invest Clonmel, where he met with a still more obstinate resistance. But after a brave defence of two months, the garrison found their ammunition and provision exhausted, without any prospect of relief. Hugh O'Nial, who commanded the confederates, withdrew secretly with his forces to Waterford; while the inhabitants of the town treated with the besiegers, and capitulated upon honourable terms. Cromwell now resigned his command to Ireton, and embarked for England.

Cromwell returns to England.

Though Cromwell, through the obstinacy of the Irish in opposing every reasonable provision for defence, had reduced several places of importance, yet a great part of the kingdom was still from the power of the parliamentarians. The province of Connaught was entirely possessed by the Catholics. Waterford, Limerick, and Galway, which they yet occupied, might be rendered so strong as to defy the utmost force which Ireton could command, and were so happily situated for receiving succours by sea, that, if well supplied, they might maintain a war against the whole kingdom. They had the forts of Duncannon and Sligo, with the forts of Athlone, Charlemont, Carlow,

low, and Nenagh; and they could readily collect forces more than double the number of their enemies; but they were deſtitute both of union and reſolution [q].

Meanwhile Ormond, patiently contending with his difficulties, formed a ſcheme for proſecuting the war with vigour and effect. He caſt his eyes on Limerick, a place of the utmoſt conſequence, and which there was reaſon to think would be ſoon attempted by the enemy. Going thither in perſon, he repreſented to the citizens the neceſſity of their receiving fifteen hundred foot, and three hundred horſe, not only for their own ſecurity, but the preſervation of the kingdom; but the citizens, influenced by the factious clergy and their partizans, rejected his propoſal. Ormond, however, having ſummoned twenty-four of their biſhops and ſeveral of the nobility to a conference, for deliberating on the moſt effectual means of promoting the king's ſervice, they aſſembled with apparent reſpect and ſubmiſſion. With an affected deference, they preſented him ſome propoſitions for removing thoſe diſcontents which prevailed among the people. The moſt important of their demands were, that the receiver-general ſhould account for the ſums levied ſince the peace, and that a privy-council ſhould be compoſed of the native nobility, ſpiritual and temporal, to aſſiſt the chief governor; an expedient by which they really meant to aſſume to themſelves the adminiſtration of public affairs. As the former of theſe demands was evidently calculated to encourage the ſuſpicions themſelves had raiſed, of ſome miſapplication of the public money, Ormond readily conſented that all thoſe who had received any money for the king's ſervice, ſhould be brought to a ſtrict account. In reſpect of the ſecond demand, he obſerved, that the right of naming a privy-council was veſted in the king alone; yet if they would ſpecify what acts were neceſſary to be done by ſuch a council, he promiſed to give ſufficient power to perſons who were free from any juſt exceptions. With theſe reaſonable anſwers the aſſembly appeared to be ſatisfied; and they publiſhed a declaration, that they would endeavour to root out of men's minds all jealouſies and unfavourable opinions of the marquis, and the preſent government. Some of the biſhops undertook to perſuade the citizens of Limerick to receive a garriſon; and Ormond himſelf deſigned to practiſe with the magiſtrates and principal leaders, for the ſame purpoſe. But his ef-

[q] Borlaſe.

forts

forts were ſecretly counteracted: they now refuſed to treat him with thoſe forms of reſpect due to his ſtation. The commanders of the city-guards neither came to him for orders, nor imparted to him thoſe they had received. No officer could gain admittance to him but by licence of the chief magiſtrate. A catholic lord, who ſerved in his army, was committed to priſon, for preſuming, by his order, to quarter a few ſoldiers within the liberties of the city. Ormond, exaſperated at theſe inſults, retired, with indignation, to Loghrea, whither he was followed by the biſhops. The illiberal artifices, and duplicity of theſe eccleſiaſtics, were a diſgrace to their profeſſion. In their private conferences with Ormond, they declared, that all the jealouſies of the people aroſe from their ſuſpicions of Inchiquin and his puritanic forces; and even demanded, as the only effectual means of allaying the general diſcontent, that all the Engliſh troops ſhould be removed from the kingdom. To Inchiquin they, at the ſame time, profeſſed the greateſt attachment. The hypocriſy of their public profeſſions became every day more apparent; and Ormond, at laſt, wearied by their inſolent and inſidious conduct, declared his reſolution of availing himſelf of the licence he had received from his royal maſter, by quitting the kingdom. But, however acceptable his departure might be to the clergy, the power to which they aſpired was not yet ſufficiently ſecured to relinquiſh the benefit they derived from his nominal authority. The nobility and commiſſioners of truſt were terrified at the proſpect of anarchy; and all, therefore, united in endeavouring to diſſuade him from his reſolution. For this purpoſe, they promiſed to renew their inſtances with the citizens, and to reduce them to a juſt ſubmiſſion. At the ſame time, the citizens, alarmed at the approach of ſome parties of the enemy, ſeemed to relent, and conſented to accept a garriſon; requiring only that it ſhould conſiſt of ſuch troops and officers as they ſhould chooſe; that they ſhould be quartered without the walls, and demand no ſubſiſtence from the city.

Ormond, encouraged by theſe promiſing appearances, ſuſpended his purpoſe of embarking, and drew his forces to Clare, within twelve miles of Limerick[r]. Receiving here a reſpectful invitation from the magiſtrates of this city, that he would honour Limerick with a viſit, and regulate the garriſon, he conſented, on condition of being

[r] Carte.

received

received with the honours due to his station, and quarters being provided for his guards. On advancing near the walls, however, he received intelligence, that a seditious friar had raised a tumult in the city to oppose his entrance, and that the rioters had rifled the magazines, and disposed of the corn at their pleasure.

To complete the distress of Ormond, the example of this city was soon followed by that of Galway, which refused to admit any garrison but such as should be appointed and commanded by the magistrates. The conduct of the disobedient cities demonstrated a purpose either of yielding to the enemy at once, or of erecting an independent authority. The refractory clergy, it was evident, entertained the latter design. They had already petitioned several catholic powers for protection; they continued to inveigh with the most malicious bitterness against the administration of Ormond; and he had reason to suspect, that the least prospect of advantage might induce some of their partizans to betray him to the enemy. From all these considerations, he resumed his purpose of retiring from the kingdom. No sooner was this purpose intimated, than the clergy and their faction redoubled their clamours. They now affected to impute his resolution of retiring to a secret agreement with the parliamentarians; and, not satisfied with these insinuations, resolved on more direct measures for renouncing the king's authority, and the government of his lieutenant. The bishops, assembling at a place called James-town, drew up some overtures in a strain of the utmost insolence, and presented them to the marquis. They required that his excellency should speedily delegate his authority, and repair to the king. Ormond, at the desire of the commissioners of trust, summoned the bishops to a conference; but they refused to attend him; at last, unable entirely to suppress his indignation, he now declared that he would not remove from the kingdom, until forced by inevitable necessity. They now threatened to present articles of accusation against him to his majesty, and enjoined the people to obey no orders but those of the congregation of clergy, until a general assembly should be convened. The more to enforce this edict, it was attended with a solemn sentence of excommunication, against all those who should adhere to the lord-lieutenant, or give him subsidy, contribution, or obedience[s].

[s] Cox. Appendix.

The

The ſolly and violence of theſe proceedings appear the more extraordinary, conſidering the progreſs of the parliamentarian forces, and the preſent ſituation of the marquis of Ormond. Immediately after the ſurrender of Clonmel, Trecrohan, a fort of great conſequence, on account of the quantity of ſtores and artillery there depoſited, was reduced; as were alſo Naas, Athy, Maryborough, Caſtledermot, Carlow, Waterford, the ſtrong fort of Duncannon, and other places. Ireton, not yet prepared for the ſiege of Limerick, ſent a detachment to block it up at a diſtance. While the parliamentarians ranged over the adjacent country, Ormond, with a few troops haſtily levied, contended at once with famine and a victorious enemy, and made the moſt deſperate efforts to prevent them from paſſing the Shannon. In the mean time, Ireton and ſir Charles Coote advanced towards Athlone, and thus alarmed the Iriſh with the apprehenſions of loſing the whole weſtern province. Clanricarde marched with his forces to oppoſe them; but the ſentence of excommunication, which was publiſhed at the head of his troops, diſcharged them from all obedience to government. The commiſſioners of truſt, the nobility, the more moderate of the clergy, with ſome who repented of their violences, all made the moſt preſſing inſtances to the congregation, to ſupport the preſent government, and not to abandon their country to the mercy of an implacable enemy. But nothing could induce thoſe prelates to revoke the ſentence of excommunication: they conſented only, with a haughty reluctance, to ſuſpend it, during the expedition made for the relief of Athlone. They proceeded to levy forces by their own authority; continuing their ſeditious clamours, and invoking the divine vengeance upon the people, for contempt of their cenſures and thoſe of the nuncio, to which they aſcribed all the public calamities.

The commiſſioners of truſt were ſcandalized at the exorbitances of the clergy; and they expoſtulated with the prelates, but found them inexorable. They importuned the marquis to wait the reſult of a new general aſſembly, which, however, ſoon appeared too ſubmiſſive to the eccleſiaſtics. The marquis unable any longer to endure theſe repeated inſults, prepared for his departure. Thoſe members of the aſſembly who were not totally infatuated, beſought him, at leaſt, to delegate the royal authority to ſome perſon faithful to the king, and acceptable to the nation. Ormond anſwered, that he would comply with their deſires when he ſhould be ſatisfied that the perſon

entruſted

entrusted with the king's authority would be secured from those insults himself had experienced, and be received with due respect and submission. He appointed the marquis of Clanricarde his lord-deputy, with directions to use, or decline the commission, as he should think proper, from the proceedings of the assembly; and embarking at the port of Galway, he, after a tempestuous voyage, arrived in France.

Ormond quits Ireland, and appoints Clanricarde his deputy.

Clanricarde was deterred by every consideration of personal interest from assuming so invidious a charge; but he was, as the same time, solicitous to preserve some appearance of the king's authority, and to protect the remains of his adherents, as well as to make a diversion in favour of the royal party in England. He was, therefore, willing to accept the government, provided he might be assured of due obedience. The answer made on this head by the assembly, was far from being explicit; nevertheless Clanricarde, after some hesitation, accepted the government[t].

This event was no sooner notified, than some agents arrived from Ireton, and proposed to the assembly to abandon their desperate cause, and treat with the parliamentarians, who might grant more favourable conditions to the nation than to particular persons. This proposition was, for some time, supported by the influence of the clergy; but, at last, dreading the indignation of the public at a conduct so apparently inconsistent with the common interest of the nation, they deemed it necessary to keep some measures with their opponents. They, therefore, concurred with the assembly in opposing any treaty with the parliamentarians; and when the lord-deputy issued a proclamation, forbidding all persons to resort to the quarters of the common enemy, to enlist in their army, or to pay them contributions, the prelates deigned to enforce this act of state, by pronouncing sentence of excommunication on all those who should not pay it strict obedience. Notwithstanding this compliance, they retained their aversion to the royal authority, and indulged themselves in the hopes both of establishing the papal jurisdiction, and their own sovereign power in Ireland, by the intervention of some foreign prince.

In conformity with these views, they sent the bishop of Ferns, their most active partizan, to Brussels, to solicit the protection of the duke of Lorrain. Before the de-

The Irish solicit the protection of the duke of Lorrain.

[t] Borlase.

parture

parture of the marquis of Ormond, the king, in his extreme neceſſity, had liſtened to a propoſal of mortgaging the fort of Duncannon to this duke for twenty-four thouſand pounds. Ormond received inſtructions, if he approved of the contract, to deliver up the fort to perſons appointed by the duke, upon receipt of the ſtipulated ſum. But difficulties ariſing from the precarioufneſs of the ſecurity, the agents of Lorrain retired, without bringing the negociation to an iſſue. A treaty, however, with that prince was afterwards renewed by lord Taafe, who, by the ambitious hopes with which he flattered the duke of Lorrain, obtained from him five thouſand pounds to purchaſe arms and ammunition, which arrived in the bay of Galway when the aſſembly deliberated about treating with the parliamentarians, and had no ſmall ſhare in influencing their deciſion. This munificence, the duke declared, was but an earneſt of his future favour. He profeſſed the utmoſt commiſeration for the Iriſh Catholics; aſſuring lord Taafe that he was ready, if invited, to appear perſonally in their defence, with ſuch ſupplies as would ſoon recover the kingdom; hinting, at the ſame time, that he ſhould expect implicit obedience, and that he could not conſent to act by commiſſion from any perſon whatever. For conditions of ſuch a nature Taafe could not venture to engage; and he, therefore, propoſed that the duke of Lorrain ſhould ſend ſome perſon of diſtinction into Ireland to treat with thoſe in authority. Stephen de Hennin, abbé of St. Catherine, was choſen for this purpoſe, and landed at Galway, while the biſhop of Ferns was on his way to Bruſſels, with a commiſſion from the diſaffected clergy to treat with the duke.

The abbé, on his arrival, finding that Clanricarde was veſted with the authority of chief governor, judged it neceſſary, for the ſake of decorum, to apply immediately to him. The marquis, to avoid all clamour, appointed a committee, compoſed of prelates, nobility, and gentry, to receive the abbé's propoſals, and deliberate upon them. His propoſals were, that the duke of Lorrain, his heirs and ſucceſſors, with a ſaving to his majeſty's rights, and thoſe of the ſubjects, ſhould be accepted as protectors of Ireland, and, while reſident in that country, ſhould have the ſupreme command of the militia, with power of convening general aſſemblies, and with other appendages of royal authority, until all diſburſements were repaid. In deliberating on theſe propoſals, the committee excluded the more moderate and loyal of their number, and in their room

room admitted others, without conſent of the lord-deputy, with whom they ſcorned to communicate. Clanricarde juſtly complained of this proceeding, as well as of the propoſitions offered by the envoy, ſo derogatory to the king's honour and authority. The biſhops inſiſted that they ſhould be accepted; but, being deſired to ſubſcribe this advice, they heſitated, and refuſed. The abbé conſented to ſome abridgment of his demands, which, however, the marquis declared were ſtill inadmiſſible. At laſt, the former agreed to advance twenty thouſand pounds on the ſecurity of Limerick and Galway, and to refer all articles relative to the protectorſhip to be adjuſted by a treaty at Bruſſels. In conſequence of this propoſal, lord Taafe, and two other commiſſioners, were appointed to treat with the duke of Lorrain; and expreſly inſtructed to be governed, in the negociation, by the directions they ſhould receive from the queen, the duke of York, and the marquis of Ormond.

But their conduct ſoon evinced that they diſregarded theſe limitations. On their arrival at Bruſſels, they found that lord Taafe had gone to Paris, to communicate the tranſactions with the abbé de St. Catharine, and to deſire farther inſtructions from the queen and lord-lieutenant. Meantime, the biſhop of Ferns waited on the duke of Lorrain, and was graciouſly received. He was aſſiſted in his negociation by ſome other creatures of the diſaffected clergy, and ſome agents ſent from the cities not yet reduced. They gave the duke the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that they could inveſt him with the whole power of the kingdom. French, the turbulent prelate of Ferns, inveighed againſt the agents ſent from the lord-deputy, their oppoſition to the nuncio, and the appeal againſt his excommunication. He declared that this excommunication was confirmed in heaven; and that all its oppoſers were forſaken of God, and delivered up to Satan. He exhorted them to make ſuch an agreement with the duke of Lorrain, as would be profitable to their nation, and acceptable to heaven; to proſtrate themſelves in the name of all the people before his holineſs, to ſupplicate his apoſtolic benediction; and aſſured them, that God would never proſper any treaty directed by the deputy, a man excommunicated for many juſt cauſes, and particularly his oppoſition to the intereſts of the catholic church. Plunket and Brown, who, in conjunction with lord Taafe, were commiſſioned to treat with the duke of Lorrain, liſtened to this hypocritical cant with the utmoſt attention. They

diſclaimed the lord-deputy's commiſſion, and pleaded a ſuperior authority. In the name of the people of Ireland, they concluded with the duke a treaty, inveſting him, in effect, with the ſovereignty of the kingdom under the title of Protector Royal. Plunket, at the ſame time, by the inſtigation of the biſhop of Ferns, was perſuaded to ſign a petition to the pope, by which, in the name of the nation, he profeſſed an entire ſubmiſſion to the holy ſee, and implored abſolution from the nuncio's cenſures. Browne, leſs bigotted than his aſſociate, had the ſpirit reſolutely to refuſe his ſubſcription. The name of lord Taafe was ſigned in his abſence, without his conſent or knowlege. The clergy now exulted at the proſpect of their church's riſing ſplendor, under the protection of a catholic prince. But whatever were the deſigns entertained by the duke of Lorrain, he ſoon found that they could not be promoted by any farther treaty with the Iriſh; for he received from the lord-deputy a formal proteſt againſt the unwarrantable proceedings of his agents.

In the mean time, the Iriſh clergy, from the expectation of an agreement with this prince, were tranſported to the utmoſt extravagance. Their ſynods were convened; they publicly declared the duke of Lorrain protector of the nation; they excommunicated thoſe who ſhould preſume to diſpute this nomination; and it was determined, that the prelates of each province ſhould chooſe two perſons to compoſe a new ſupreme council, with full powers to tranſact all civil and military affairs, by the direction, and with the conſent of the clergy [u].

A.D. 1651. During theſe tranſactions, Ireton, having made all proviſions for an early campaign, and received ſome reinforcements from England, reſolved to reſume his operations by beſieging Limerick. As it was neceſſary to pierce into Connaught, in order to inveſt this city on all ſides, ſir Charles Coote was directed to advance towards Sligo. The Iriſh prepared to relieve this place; when Coote, ſuddenly drawing off his men, paſſed, with ſome difficulty, over the Curlew Mountains, and inveſted Athlone. Clanricarde, though embarraſſed by faction and oppoſition, made ſome efforts to oppoſe him; but, before his forces could be collected, Athlone was reduced; and Coote, purſuing his advadtage, marched againſt Galway. The deputy, ſolicitous to defend this important poſt, ſummoned the earl of Caſtlehaven to his aſſiſtance; but

[u] Cox. Borlaſe.

ſcarcely

scarcely had this lord marched a few miles, with a detachment of four thousand men, when a party, which he had left to defend a pass over the Shannon, suffered themselves to be overpowered by the enemy, and fled precipitately. His whole army caught the panic, and immediately dispersed. At the same time, an officer who had been stationed at Killaloe, to defend this passage of the Shannon, abandoned his station, either from treachery or cowardice; so that the English burst rapidly into the western province; and every thing being now ready for the attempt on Limerick, Ireton began the siege in form.

Ireton commences the siege of Limerick.

Both the citizens and the clergy had promised all submission to the lord-deputy; but, when he proposed to shut himself up in Limerick, and to share their fortune, he was excluded with the same insolence which Ormond had experienced. At the approach of danger, indeed, the magistrates deigned to accept some troops, of such number and quality as they chose; and appointed Henry O'Nial to be their nominal governor, reserving all real power to themselves. A constant correspondence was maintained between the besiegers and the citizens, by means of those Irish who had submitted to Ireton; and so far were the citizens wrought upon, by the insinuations of these men, that in three days a resolution was formed of surrendering the place. But the bishops and clergy, knowing that Ireton would except several persons from the benefit of any articles, and dreading that themselves would be made the first victims of his cruelty, strenuously opposed all motions for capitulating; while O'Nial exerted himself in defence of the city, with the same bravery which he had before displayed in that of Clonmell.

Lord Muskerry, alarmed at the dangerous situation of Limerick, advanced from Kerry with a strong party to its relief; but lord Broghill being detached to oppose him, Muskerry, after a short engagement, in which he suffered a considerable loss, was obliged to retire. O'Nial, however, continued to make a brave defence; and in several successful sallies, slew a considerable number of the besiegers. Winter now approached, and the severity of the season, and sickness of his army, must soon have obliged Ireton to abandon his enterprize, when treachery and sedition began to operate in his favour. The governor's authority had ever been controuled by the magistrates, and consequently disregarded by his officers. Of these a number assembled tumultuously, and resolved to treat with the besiegers.

The biſhops clamoured againſt the deſign of ſacrificing them to the fury of the enemy, and thundered an excommunication againſt the authors of ſuch impious counſel; but in the hour of their terror, their ſpiritual authority was neglected. Fennel, the officer who had yielded the paſs of Killaloe, at the head of a ſeditious rabble of ſoldiers and citizens, ſeized two of the principal gates; while the chief magiſtrate protected him from the authority of the governor. He turned the cannon on the town, inſiſted on capitulating, and ſent commiſſioners to Ireton for that purpoſe. It was agreed, that the garriſon ſhould lay down their arms, and march out unmoleſted; and that the citizens ſhould be allowed to remove their effects. Twenty-four perſons, clergy, ſoldiers, and inhabitants, were excluded from mercy; and Ireton, now maſter of the city, executed the ſevereſt vengeance on thoſe who had been the moſt violent partizans of the nuncio, and the opponents of the Engliſh government [x]. O'Brien, the popiſh prelate of Elmly, was ſeized, and inſtantly executed. Fennel, notwithſtanding his ſervices, was tried for ſeveral murders, and condemned to death. Geoffry Browne, on his return from Bruſſels, alſo ſuffered by the hands of the executioner. Nor did Wolfe, the friar, who had ſeditiouſly excluded the marquis of Ormond from Limerick, eſcape the juſt reward of his preſumption. The brave O'Nial had ſo offended by his defence of the city, that he was condemned by a court-martial; but, at laſt, after much difficulty, the gloomy republican conſented to ſpare his life.

Limerick capitulates.

Galloway was now ſummoned to accept the conditions originally offered to Limerick; and, in caſe of any refuſal or delay, threatened with the ſame ſeverities. The intimidated citizens were ready to treat, when Ireton caught the infection which then raged in Ireland, and died at Limerick. The Iriſh of Galway aſſumed courage from this event; and uniting under the command of general Preſton, addreſſed themſelves to Clanricarde for aſſiſtance, with the promiſe of obedience to his authority. The marquis attended them in perſon, and ſummoned an aſſembly of nobility, gentry, and prelates, to meet at Galway, and concert meaſures for defence.

Ludlow aſſumes the command.

Meanwhile, the command of the Engliſh forces was, for the preſent, entruſted to Ludlow, who exerted himſelf with vigour to complete the reduction of the Iriſh. He

[x] Ludlow's Memoirs.

iſſued

issued orders, requiring all persons to withdraw from the enemy's quarters, on pain of being treated as such themselves; and he directed that no quarter should be granted to those who had joined the Irish since the arrival of general Cromwell. These orders being executed with severity, the Irish were every where thrown into consternation. Numbers of them daily submitted, and secured the remains of their property by compositions. A submission was offered in the name of the nation, by an assembly held at Leinster; and no sooner had sir Charles Coote appeared before Galway, than the assembly there convened prevailed on Clanricarde to transmit to Ludlow the like offer. But no general treaty of submission could now be admitted; as the settlement of the nation, it was said, belonged to the parliament of England. The pride and turbulence of the Irish clergy and their creatures, notwithstanding the present distress, remained unabated. They still opposed Clanricarde, and continued their seditious practices. In the midst of the confusion, Preston, the governor of Galway, fled by sea from the impending danger; and the city, without the least regard to the authority of Clanricarde, was surrendered with a facility which astonished the besiegers. *Galway surrendered.*

Notwithstanding this disaster, and the reduction of a few inferior towns, the marquis of Clanricarde still continued some appearance of hostilities, from a vain hope of making a diversion in favour of the king's enterprises in England [*]. He penetrated into the northern province, and being joined by some Ulster forces, took the castles of Ballyshannon and Donnegal. But, after maintaining these posts some time, he was obliged to fly from the superior force of the enemy. His troops were dispersed, his resources utterly exhausted, and his person every moment in danger from the treachery of his followers. In this extremity, he pursued the king's instructions, and accepted conditions from the republicans. He was permitted to reside unmolested in their quarters for some time, and afterwards to transport himself and three thousand Irish into the service of any prince in amity with England. He thus retired from a country which had been lost by the senseless factions and incorrigible perverseness of the clergy and their adherents. *The lord-deputy surrenders to the republicans.*

The English parliament, in the mean time, concerted measures for the final settlement of Ireland. Lambert was A.D. 1652.

[*] Borlase.

appointed ſucceſſor to Ireton, and prepared for his departure; but, as Cromwell's commiſſion of lord-lieutenant was ſoon to expire, a queſtion aroſe, whether it ſhould not be renewed, inſtead of ſending Lambert as his deputy. Cromwell, with his uſual duplicity, entreated that himſelf might not be continued in this office; affecting to concur with thoſe who deemed the title of lord-lieutenant more ſuitable to a monarchy than a commonwealth; and, at the ſame time, he moved to employ Lambert in the character of lord-deputy. But the parliament refuſed to grant him any higher title than that of commander in chief of their forces in Ireland. Lambert, as Cromwell wiſhed, was offended, and refuſed to accept the command; which was, therefore, conferred on Fleetwood, who had lately married the relict of Ireton, and was particularly devoted to his father-in-law, Cromwell.

Fleetwood appointed to the government of Ireland.

Two acts relative to Ireland were now debated in parliament; one for the confiſcation of all the lands of rebels; the other, for adjuſting the claims of adventurers, and veſting them with their Iriſh eſtates. Meanwhile, Fleetwood was diſpatched to Ireland, where he found the inhabitants of all orders ſubmitting to the terms which had been impoſed. They were to abide a trial, if accuſed of any murders committed in the beginning of the war: if convicted, they were to be incapable of pardon, and their eſtates confiſcated. Thoſe who had only aſſiſted in the war, were to forfeit two-thirds of their eſtates, and to be baniſhed from Ireland. But among thoſe excepted from pardon, for life and eſtate, were the marquis of Ormond, lord Inchiquin, Bramhal, the proteſtant biſhop of Derry, and the earl of Roſcommon.

To enforce theſe rigorous ordinances was the firſt employment of the new adminiſtration. Commiſſions were iſſued in the ſeveral provinces for the erection of a high court of juſtice, to try thoſe who were accuſed of murdering the Engliſh. Lord Mayo, in Connaught, and colonel William Bagnal, in Munſter, were condemned on evidence far from being unexceptionable. Lord Muſkerry was charged with the aſſaſſination of ſeveral Engliſhmen, but honourably acquitted. So many authors of the firſt barbarous outrages of this war, had been cut off by war or diſeaſe, or had eſcaped into foreign countries, that, on the ſevereſt inquiſition, two hundred only were condemned to death. In the northern province, which had been the great ſcene of barbarity, ſir Phelim O'Nial was the only perſon brought to juſtice.

Ireland, after the havoc it had experienced by a ſeries of public commotions, was now to be recruited, and reſtored to ſome degree of order. For this purpoſe, while Fleetwood had the ſole command of the army, four commiſſioners were joined with him in the adminiſtration of the civil government. The people of England were permitted to export grain and cattle free from duty, to ſupply the immediate neceſſities of an exhauſted country; and the commiſſioners were directed to raiſe a revenue for all ſuch as had been wounded and diſabled, and for the children and widows of thoſe who had been killed in the public ſervice.

For the payment of the arrears due to the Engliſh army, forfeited lands were aſſigned; but this ſatisfaction was confined to thoſe who had ſerved after the arrival of Cromwell. The only acknowlegement made to thoſe who had borne arms againſt the Iriſh before this period, was a ſmall portion of lands in Wicklow, and the adjacent counties, not ſufficient to diſcharge a fourth part of their arrears. The adventurers, perſuaded that there were forfeited lands in one moiety of nine principal counties, ſufficient to repay them, accepted this moiety as a full ſatisfaction; the other was aſſigned to ſoldiers. Connaught was reſerved entirely for the Iriſh, under the qualifications determined by parliament. To this province they were reſtricted, that the new Engliſh planters might proceed without interruption, and without the danger of degenerating by an intercourſe with the Iriſh. The counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, and Corke, remained ſtill unappropriated, and reſerved by the parliament to be afterwards diſpoſed of at its pleaſure. Courts were eſtabliſhed at Dublin and Athlone, to adjudge all claims, which were to be exhibited within a limited time, that all proprietors might be freed from future litigation. Theſe arrangements, however, were attended with many diſputes and jealouſies; nor, in the diſtribution of lands, were the commiſſioners and their creatures inattentive to their own intereſts. A D. 1653.

Soon after the commencement of theſe regulations, intelligence was received, that Oliver Cromwell had forcibly diſſolved the parliament, and was declared, by his council of officers, protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The news of this important change was variouſly received in Ireland [p]: by the army,

[p] Ludlow.

which complained of partiality in the commissioners, with particular satisfaction; but, by the zealous republicans, with abhorrence and indignation. It was proposed to proclaim the protector; and after this motion had been debated a fortnight, Fleetwood, and a few principal officers, with all the commissioners, except Ludlow, at length, with difficulty, resolved, by the majority of one voice, that a proclamation should be issued. Ludlow retired in disgust, and declared his purpose of acting no longer as a commissioner, but retained his post of lieutenant-general. Oliver soon sent his son Henry into Ireland, to sound the dispositions of the army, and to reconcile men's minds to the usurpation. Henry discovered, that the commissioners had done little more than make orders for the distribution of lands, reserving large proportions to themselves; so that, in some instances, the state had been shamefully defrauded. He beheld, with particular concern, the miserable condition of the courts of judicature; and the general desolation, arising from the insolence of his countrymen against the old inhabitants. He endeavoured to reconcile the disaffected, and practised with Ludlow to gain him to his father's interest, but without effect.

Cromwell is proclaimed protector.

A.D. 1654.

Instrument of government.

The instrument of government required, that a parliament should be summoned for the three nations, now united into one commonwealth. Thirty members were to be chosen for Ireland; and the commissioners were directed to transmit their advice relative to the election of this number. The commissioners were of opinion, that, in the present desolate and unsettled state of thenation, such an election was not to be attempted, as improper persons might be chosen in some places; and they advised, that the protector should call the thirty members to parliament by writ. Ludlow was filled with indignation at this proposal: he exhorted the commissioners not to resign the appearance of liberty, though the reality had been tamely yielded. In consequence of his spirited representations, Fleetwood adopted the mode of election; he proportioned the number to be chosen by the counties and cities; the persons to be returned were fixed upon by a private junto of the commissioners; and, for the most part, the elections were made agreeably to their desires.

The office of the commissioners was too important for the protector not to be jealous of their authority. He, therefore, put an end to their power, and appointed

Fleetwood

Fleetwood lord-deputy for three years, aſſigning him a new council to aſſiſt in the adminiſtration. It was obſerved, however, by the enemies of Cromwell, that this alteration was more ſuited to a royal than a republican government, and indicated a ſettled purpoſe in the protector, of eſtabliſhing a monarchical power in his family [q]. The army was diſcontented at the delays in aſſigning them their portions of land, and many of them utterly diſſatisfied with the preſent government. Ludlow was ſo active in inflaming the diſcontented, that Oliver was alarmed; and directed Fleetwood to require him to ſurrender his commiſſion, and, in caſe of refuſal, to ſend him priſoner into England. Ludlow refuſed to reſign a commiſſion which he had received from the parliament; but, at length, was prevailed on to promiſe, that he would preſent himſelf before Cromwell; and, in the mean time, not to act againſt the preſent government. Cromwell, however, upon recollection, judged it more ſafe to detain him in Ireland; and, in order to diminiſh his influence, care was taken ſome time after that his regiment ſhould be diſbanded.

Ireland, at this period, affords few materials for the hiſtorian. The old inhabitants were completely broken and ſubdued; and the great object of the adminiſtration was to reconcile men's minds to the preſent government. Henry Cromwell was again employed, firſt as a military officer, and ſoon after as lord-deputy, in the place of Fleetwood. By his juſtice, liberality, and benevolence, he eſtabliſhed his authority ſo firmly in the hearts of the people, that they became entirely reconciled to his father's intereſts; and when Oliver received a petition from the officers of his own regiment, publicly avowing their diſſatisfaction at his government, addreſſes were tranſmitted from the army and the inhabitants of every county in Ireland, expreſſing their reſolution of adhering to the protector againſt all his opponents. On the death of Oliver, the ſame aſſurances of ſupport were renewed to Richard, who confirmed his brother in the government of Ireland, by the new title of lord-lieutenant. It was afterwards determined by the Engliſh parliament, that the government of Ireland ſhould be again adminiſtered by commiſſioners, that Henry Cromwell ſhould be recalled, and Ludlow appointed to command the forces of the commonwealth in this kingdom.

A.D. 1655.

A.D. 1658.

[q] Thurloe.

The royaliſts of Ireland now began to conceive the moſt ſanguine hopes of the king's ſpeedy reſtoration: and this diſpoſition was conſiderably promoted by the ſeverity and jealouſy of the commiſſioners. At length, the royal party burſt from their concealment, and demoliſhed the whole fabric of the republican government. Some gentlemen of diſtinction formed a bold deſign to ſeize the caſtle of Dublin, and to ſecure the perſons of the commiſſioners. They aſſembled at Dublin, on pretence of petitioning for a general council of officers, to deliver their ſentiments on the preſent ſtate of affairs. Their petition was rejected; when, by a ſudden and deſperate effort, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the caſtle, made three of the commiſſioners their priſoners, and declared for a free parliament. In the mean time, ſir Charles Coote, who had engaged in the parliament ſervice, not from principle, but intereſt, impatient to be diſtinguiſhed by his zeal for the royal cauſe, ſecured the town and fort of Galway, changed the governor, collected a conſiderable body, conſiſting chiefly of old Engliſh, ſurpriſed Athlone, marched to Dublin, and impeached Ludlow and the commiſſioners of high treaſon. The royaliſts of other quarters poſſeſſed themſelves of Youghal, Clonmel, Carlow, Limerick, and Drogheda; ſo that in one week, moſt of the conſiderable garriſons of Ireland declared for a free parliament; by which was now generally underſtood, an aſſembly attached to the royal cauſe.

While affairs were in this ſituation, lord Broghill invited Charles to repair immediately to Ireland; and it was even debated in the king's council, whether he ſhould not go directly thither. Charles was ſtrongly inclined to this enterprize; but as there was now great expectation from the proceedings of Monk, it was thought proper to ſuſpend this reſolution, until the iſſue of Engliſh affairs ſhould be diſcovered. The government of Ireland was now aſſumed by a council of officers; who, on a petition of the magiſtracy of Dublin, ſummoned a convention of eſtates. The council of ſtate in England ordered this convention to be diſſolved; but their orders were diſregarded. The convention and council of officers now proceeded without reſtraint or oppoſition, and avowed their deſign of reſtoring the king. The nation, a few inconſiderable fanatics and old Iriſh excepted, caught the flame of loyalty, and waited with impatience for the declaration of Breda. This being readily accepted, Charles

was

was proclaimed in all the great towns of Ireland with every demonstration of joy; while the convention voted a present of twenty thousand pounds to his majesty, four thousand to the duke of York, and two thousand to the duke of Gloucester. A.D. 1660. *Charles is proclaimed in Ireland.*

CHAP. VIII.

From the Restoration to the End of this History.

THE restoration of Charles II. though an object of national satisfaction, excited a variety of emotions among the individuals of Ireland. Some were impatient to be restored to their ancient possessions; others to be confirmed in their new acquisitions: some were solicitous to be pardoned for their delinquency; and others to be rewarded for their services. In this general agitation, the Irish catholics were the most impatient. They who had been ejected from their estates, and obliged to accept some inferior portions of land in Connaught, now exulted in the extinction of a fanatical tyranny. Even before the king had been proclaimed, many of them re-entered on their patrimonial lands, and expelled the new intruders. Hence arose various disorders, which obliged the convention to publish an ordinance for preserving the public peace. These outrages were industriously represented in England as the prelude to a new rebellion; so that before the landing of the king, the act of indemnity was prepared in such a manner as to exclude all those who had any share in contriving or abetting the rebellion in Ireland; a measure by which the whole Romish party was in effect excluded [r]. *Charles II.* *Great disorders in Ireland.*

Meanwhile, the Irish Roman catholics were treated with the utmost severity. They were not permitted to pass from one province to another on their ordinary business, and many of them were imprisoned. The king no sooner arrived in London, than the houses united in expressing their apprehensions of the violences in Ireland; and Charles was obliged to publish a proclamation for apprehending and prosecuting all Irish rebels, and commanding that no person should be disturbed in the possession of houses or lands, until legally ejected, or his ma-

[r] Belling. Vindic.

jesty,

jeſty, with the concurrence of the parliament, ſhould make farther proviſions for the purpoſe.

But this proclamation was not ſufficient to allay the apprehenſions of the people of Ireland; and an Iriſh parliament was deemed abſolutely neceſſary to ſecure the intereſts of the ſoldiers and adventurers. The king was urged to convene ſuch an aſſembly without delay; but it was anſwered, that ſeveral arrangements muſt firſt be made in the eccleſiaſtical and civil affairs of Ireland, both of which were at this time in great diſorder. Beſide the Scottiſh miniſters in the northern province, ſome preſbyterian clergymen had lately gained poſſeſſion of churches in Dublin, and the adjacent country, where they regulated the divine worſhip according to the Directory, and preached the covenant with remarkable zeal. Though theſe were not numerous, yet they petitioned the king to have their model of church-government eſtabliſhed; and a petition of the ſame nature was promoted in the army of Ireland. The epiſcopal clergy, alarmed at theſe proceedings, applied for protection to Ormond, who proved their zealous and powerful advocate. He repreſented to the king, that inſtead of truſting to the ſenſe of a new parliament, compoſed of the adventurers and officers of Cromwell's army, the king ſhould immediately proceed to fill up the eccleſiaſtical preferments of this country with men of worth, learning, and well attached to the eſtabliſhed church. Charles, approving the advice, immediately filled up the four archbiſhoprics, and twelve epiſcopal ſees, with the moſt eminent of the Iriſh clergy.

On the return of the king, Monk had been appointed lord-lieutenant, and lord Roberts, deputy of Ireland; but as both continued in England, the adminiſtration was committed to ſir Charles Coote, and one major Bury, with the title of commiſſioners of government. The king had now ſome leiſure to attend to the diſtractions and competitions of this kingdom; and it was neceſſary that he ſhould make ſuch eſtabliſhments, as might, if poſſible, ſatisfy the different claimants, and prevent all future litigation. But the variety of pretenſions, as well as the unreaſonable expectations of both parties, rendered this taſk extremely difficult. For this purpoſe, various ſchemes were deviſed, until, at length, the king publiſhed his famous declaration for the ſettlement of Ireland.

The king's declaration.

By this declaration, in the firſt place, the adventurers were confirmed in the lands poſſeſſed by them on the 7th day of May, 1659, agreeably to the acts of parliament of

the ſeventeenth and eighteenth years of Charles I. and all their deficiencies were to be ſatisfied before the enſuing month of May. Theſe lands were to be held in free and common ſoccage. In the next place, the king confirmed to the ſoldiers the lands allotted for their pay (to be held by knights ſervice, in capite) with an exception of church-lands, of eſtates procured by fraudulent means, and of lands poſſeſſed by thoſe who were excepted in the act of oblivion and indemnity. Officers who had ſerved before the month of June, 1649, and had not yet received lands for their pay, were to be ſatisfied by eſtates, houſes, and other ſecurities allotted for this purpoſe. From theſe they were to receive immediate ſatisfaction of twelve ſhillings and ſixpence in the pound of their arrears, and an equal dividend of whatever ſhould remain of their ſecurity. Proteſtants, whoſe eſtates had been given to adventurers, or ſoldiers, were to be reſtored, unleſs they had been in the rebellion before the ceſſation, or had taken out decrees for lands in Connaught or Clare. Innocent papiſts, though they had taken lands in Connaught, were to be reſtored to their eſtates. But thoſe, whoſe former eſtates lay within corporate towns, inſtead of being reſtored to their poſſeſſion, were to be indemnified in the neighbourhood [n].

The declaration for the ſettlement of Ireland, however calculated to provide for all intereſts, yet did not ſatisfy the expectations of every party; and in ſuch diſpoſitions, men waited impatiently for the meeting of that Iriſh parliament, which was to confirm the royal declaration by a law, and by which they hoped to be eſtabliſhed in their poſſeſſions, or to be redreſſed in their grievances. The parliament was accordingly convened; and, as the adventurers and ſoldiers kept poſſeſſion of their lands and their intereſts in their ſeveral corporations, moſt of the members of the lower houſe were elected of their party. No catholics, and but few of the more virulent fanatics, were returned. Both houſes began with a declaration, requiring all perſons to conform to the church-government and and liturgy eſtabliſhed by law; and they alſo concurred in cenſuring the covenant, and oaths of aſſociation. But the great object of this parliament was the heads of a bill for ſettling the kingdom, purſuant to the king's declaration. In the houſe of commons, where the intereſt of

A.D. 1661. *A parliament.*

[n] Borlaſe.

adventurers

adventurers and ſoldiers was predominont, it was contended, that the declaration ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved. In the upper houſe were ſeveral lords of the Iriſh race; ſeveral who, by intereſt and inclination, were attached to the old Engliſh families of Ireland, and exaſperated that they ſhould be ſupplanted by a new colony of mean extraction and ſeditious ſpirit. At the head of theſe ſtood the earl of Kildare, fortified by powerful connections, and the proxy of Ormond, now created a duke. They contended, that, if the king's declaration ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved, the hopes of the new intereſt indeed would be amply gratified, but no repriſals could be found, either for the old proteſtants, or ſeveral other claſſes of the people. To enlarge the fund of repriſals, they inſiſted, that a number of the moſt peſtilent fanatics ſhould, by name, be excluded from all the advantages of the declaration. In the proceedings of the court of claims, they found various ſubjects of complaint: the ſtreets of Dublin were crowded with widows, who had entered claims for their jointures, and, though moſt of their caſes admitted no difficulty, not one had been reſtored. When reſtitution had been directed by the king to particular perſons, they could obtain no order for their eſtates: the commiſſioners pleaded that there were no repriſals for the preſent poſſeſſors; and, on enquiry, it was found, that they had clandeſtinely granted to their own friends the lands alloted for repriſals. The lords judged it neceſſary to put ſome ſtop to this ſcandalous abuſe of power, and to petition the king, that theſe illicit grants ſhould be revoked.

A.D. 1662. London became ſoon after the great ſcene of debate upon Iriſh affairs. Hither, therefore, both the Iriſh catholics and the adventurers ſent agents to plead their cauſe; and the latter raiſed a conſiderable ſum of money, to be diſtributed among thoſe who could ſupport their intereſt. The very tediouſneſs of the examinations and debates, relative to the affairs of Ireland, was ſufficient to weary the diſſipated temper of the king. When he iſſued his declaration, he was perſuaded that there were lands ſufficient to ſatisfy all parties; but he was now ſenſible of the miſtake. One or other of the diſcordant intereſts muſt ſuffer; and Charles, who conſidered the ſettlement of Ireland as an affair rather of policy than juſtice, was readily made to believe, that the advantage of the crown, and the ſecurity of his government, required, that the loſs ſhould be ſuſtained by the Iriſh.

The

The arrival of the duke of Ormond was now impatiently expected in Ireland, as the person who was to complete the work of a national settlement. The Irish parliament, in a strain of uncommon generosity, presented him with the sum of thirty thousand pounds; and all men vied with each other in expressing their reverence for a nobleman, who had so long maintained the royal interests under every difficulty, and was so deservedly the favourite of his sovereign[o]. Soon after he arrived, he gave the royal assent to the bill of settlement. The act, however, was not so accurately devised as to guard against reasonable exception; nor was it, indeed, possible that any act could be so framed as to be accommodated to the jarring interests of every party. Many of the provisos inserted in it had been disapproved by the duke of Ormond; and the king would have at once struck out all the provisos, but the duke advised that they should stand, as, in the execution of the act, the effect of those which were unreasonable or unjust might be prevented. For this purpose, a clause was inserted, empowering the lord-lieutenant and council to give such farther instructions to the commissioners appointed to execute this act, as they should judge proper.

Generosity of the Irish parliament to the duke of Ormond.

The Irish catholics now added to their former complaints, that they had not been heard before the English council, nor their agents consulted on framing the bill. The forty-nine officers, whose merits were incontestable, found the security of their arrears diminished by this act. Even the house of commons acknowleged the severities imposed on these loyal officers; and, as soon as the act of settlement had passed their house, ordered a bill of explanation to be brought in, calculated chiefly for their relief. Nor were the adventurers and soldiers, for whom the amplest provision seemed to have been made, less dissatisfied than others.

The execution of the act was entrusted to English commissioners, disengaged from all interests in Ireland. They sat in Dublin to receive claims, and hear proofs of innocency; and notwithstanding those vigorous qualifications necessary for exculpating the Irish, more of their party were pronounced innocent than their adversaries expected. Those innocents were to be immediately reinvested with their estates, without any provision for indemnifying those who should be ejected; and as the fund for future reprisals was known to be small, the adven-

[o] Carte.

turers

turers and soldiers were confounded at these decisions. In their fears for their property, they expected to be entirely dispossessed; while, in their suspicions of the king, they concluded that the commissioners were influenced by secret instructions, and that a scheme was formed to exalt the Irish upon the ruins of the English interest. The more violent declared for maintaining their possessions by the sword; and this seditious disposition was readily propagated. The proceedings which indicated so much favour to the Irish, were represented with every circumstance of aggravation in England, where the old republicans were impatient of the present form of government. Agents were sent to try the dispositions of their friends in Ireland, and found them prepared for any desperate purpose. A number of officers who had served in Cromwell's army, was easily encouraged to form a scheme of a general insurrection. To conduct it they appointed a private committee, one of which discovered the design to the duke of Ormond. Some of the conspirators, impatient of delay, formed a desperate scheme of seizing the castle of Dublin; but this too was discovered and defeated. It did not, however, put a stop to the more general scheme of insurrection. Meetings were still held in the capital; correspondences maintained with different parts of the kingdom, especially the northern province; arms and ammunition were prepared, and numbers of disbanded soldiers engaged. The zeal of the conspirators so far outran their discretion, that intimations of their designs and proceedings were from time to time conveyed to the duke of Ormond, who planned his measures accordingly. Sir Arthur Forbes was sent into Ulster, where soon discovering the design of an immediate insurrection, he boldly ventured to seize one of the principal conspirators; though surrounded by his friends, and so intimidated the whole party, that the accomplices fled to Scotland. An attempt was made to engage sir Theophilus Jones in this enterprize, and the whole scheme was rashly communicated to him. He instantly conveyed his information to the lord-lieutenant; so that on the eve of the day appointed for seizing the castle of Dublin, and publishing their declaration, about five and twenty conspirators were seized, and a reward proclaimed for apprehending those who escaped. A few were condemned and executed; the rest received the king's pardon [q].

Scheme of an insurrection,

A.D. 1663.

which is suppressed.

[q] Carte.

The

The state of property in Ireland was still unsettled; and the king refused to accept of any scheme for a final accommodation, formed by an assembly which had given him unfavourable impressions of its temper, and which he had some thoughts of dissolving. He referred the whole affair to the lord-lieutenant and council, and directed that they should prepare an entirely new bill. They proceeded with the caution necessary in a point so important and delicate. The purport of the bill which they framed, was to explain some clauses in the declaration; to assign a better security to the forty-nine officers; to prevent the restitution of Irish lands and houses in corporations; to increase the stock of reprisals, by taking away a sixth part from adventurers and soldiers, and by other expedients. The bill was accompanied by agents from the different parties to London, where they were heard before the privy-council. In the perplexity arising from the various claimants and petitioners, the king was desirous of being assisted by the duke of Ormond, who was, therefore, called into England, and his son, the earl of Ossory, appointed lord-deputy during his absence [h].

A.D. 1664. On Ormond's arrival in London, he found all parties weary of their unsettled condition, harrassed by expence and trouble, and all disposed to abate something of their several pretensions, in order to obtain a final settlement. It was, at length, proposed on the side of the Irish catholics, that the adventurers and soldiers should resign one third of the lands enjoyed by them, on the 7th day of May, 1659. The proposal was accepted; one third of all the king's grants (with some exceptions) retrenched; and, on this principle, with consent of all the agents, the bill of explanation was at last framed, and presented to the council. Nothing remained but the addition of twenty persons to the list of nominees, whom the king was to restore to their estates, and were to be specified in the new act. The choice of these was assigned to the duke of Ormond; and it was an office, which, however impartially executed, could not but expose him to resentment. Through the whole affair of the settlement, he had acted a disinterested and honourable part. He had given up his own rights to facilitate a general accommodation. But the Irish, in the bitterness of their resentment, had no leisure to discover the merit of his conduct. It was declared in the new bill, that the protestants were, in

Bill of explanation.

Disinterested conduct of Ormond.

[h] Carte.

the

the first place, particularly to be settled, and that any ambiguity was to be interpreted in the sense most favourable to their interests. It was also provided, that no papist, who, by the qualifications of the former act, had not been adjudged innocent, should be entitled to claim any lands or settlements. By this means, every hope which had been entertained by those numerous claimants whose causes had not been heard, was entirely cut off. They complained of perjury and subornation in the causes that had been tried before the commissioners of claims; though those criminal practices were probably not confined to one party. But their great and striking grievance was, that more than three thousand persons were condemned, without so much as the appearance of a fair and equal trial [q].

A D. 1665.

However favourable this bill was deemed to the new interest, it was far from being generally acceptable to the commons. Some objected to it as not sufficiently secure; some thought their own services not rewarded so much as they deserved; and some, perhaps, were averse to any mode of settlement, which might preclude the hope of reaping future advantages from the public disorders. It seemed not advisable for the lord-lieutenant to lay the bill immediately before a house of commons of such temper, and who had discovered such turbulence in their former session. He, therefore, determined that the vacant seats should first be supplied, and these he endeavoured to fill with members acceptable to the government. Several of their members, and among them Mervyn, their speaker, were said to have taken some part in the intended insurrection; so that, to remove all suspicions of his own conduct, every man was forward to distinguish himself by his zeal against the conspirators. At the opening of the session, a letter from the king to the duke of Ormond was laid before them, condemning their former proceedings relative to the commissioners of claims. Apprehensive of a dissolution, and a new parliament less friendly to their interests, they made the humblest submission to the king, and retracted the measures which had given him offence. Seven of their members, accused as accomplices, were expelled the house, and declared incapable of serving in any future parliament. A bill was likewise prepared to disqualify them for holding any office, civil, military, or ecclesiastical.

Seven members expelled the Irish parliament.

[q] Borlase.

Scarcely

Scarcely were the disorders of Ireland terminated by the act of explanation, when the tranquillity of the kingdom was again disturbed by a measure which derived its origin from the English house of commons. It was found that the rents of England had of late years decreased to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds annually. The causes of this alarming deficiency were, many of them, sufficiently obvious. Numbers of industrious puritans had been driven by persecution to Holland, and the American plantations: the trade of the nation, which had been greatly diminished with France and Spain, was farther interrupted by the war with Holland; and the plague had very much lessened the consumption of provisions. The commons, however, were willing to ascribe the decrease of rents to the importation of Irish cattle. In vain was it urged, that the value of the cattle sent annually to England, was far short of the deficiency in the value of lands; and that, before the late civil wars in England, far greater numbers had been imported, without any complaints. So early as the year 1663, the English parliament had passed a temporary act for prohibiting the importation of fat cattle from Ireland after the 1st day of July in every year. The inconveniences arising to both countries from this restraint, were represented to the king in the strongest terms; but in proportion as he seemed convinced of the impropriety of this measure, the commons were the more inflamed; and in the parliament held at Oxford in 1665, a bill was brought in for the perpetual prohibition of importing cattle from Ireland, dead or alive. This bill, though highly prejudicial to the interests of both kingdoms, passed the house of commons; but it was opposed in the house of lords; the report was delayed, and the parliament prorogued. A.D. 1666.

Impolitic measures of the English parliament respecting Ireland.

In the mean time, Ireland, deprived of its trade with the sister-kingdom, and disabled from any foreign commerce by the want of shipping, and by the war with France and Holland, experienced the greatest distress; and it required all the prudence, the vigilance, and activity of Ormond, to prevent the discontents of the people from breaking forth into open insurrection.

The experience of three years had now proved the effects of restraining the importation of cattle from Ireland. Notwithstanding that prohibition, the rents of England had not encreased; and Ireland was so reduced, as to be unable to pay the subsidies granted by parliament. But Buckingham, Ashley, Lauderdale, and their party,

had already determined the destruction of the chancellor, at the same time that they hated his friend Ormond, whose views and principles were so opposite to their own, and whose influence was a powerful obstacle to the schemes which they meditated. To remove their rival from his government, if not to afford some plausible ground of an impeachment, discontents were to be raised in Ireland. Every argument was used to persuade the people that their distress arose from the importation of Irish cattle. The members of the northern and western parts, in particular, were transported to the utmost violence, and the bill of prohibition was eagerly resumed. The king had expressed his utter abhorrence of this bill, and passionately declared that it never should receive his assent. The commons, on whom he depended for the support of the war, were the more determined to mortify him with a display of their importance, by declaring, in the preamble to the bill, that the importation of Irish cattle was a nuisance; they precluded him from attempting any dispensing power in favour of the Irish subjects; and they passed the bill in a rage of opposition, without the least attention to argument. In the house of lords it received some amendments, particularly by inserting the words detriment and mischief, instead of nuisance. When returned to the commons, their violence seemed to be suddenly allayed. Intelligence having been received of an insurrection in Scotland, they began to apprehend some danger from exasperating Ireland; but the insurrection soon being quelled, they returned to their former sentiments respecting Ireland. They insisted that the preamble should remain in its present form; and, in a conference between the committees of both houses, neither seemed disposed to recede. Ashley, with an affected moderation, proposed, that instead of calling the importation a nuisance, it might be declared to be felony, or a premunire. The chancellor suggested an amendment equally reasonable, and observed, that it might, with equal propriety, be declared, adultery. In their debates on this bill, the lords discovered a vehemence no less indecent than that of the commons: several seemed on the point of drawing the sword against each other. The commons persisted in refusing to alter the preamble; and offered to the lords interested in Irish estates, that if they would consent to adopt it, a year's liberty should be given for the importation of cattle. While both parties continued obstinate, and the king apprehended the danger of losing his sup-

plies, he directed his ministers in the house of lords to consent to the word nuisance; and thus decided the fate of this so much contested bill.

The ill effects of this bill soon became sensible to both nations. All commerce between them was interrupted; and no money could be found for discharging the subsidies, which were requisite for securing both kingdoms against an invasion of the enemy. Ormond found it necessary to accept part of these subsidies in provisions; and the king was also well disposed to alleviate the present difficulties of Ireland. With the consent of his council, obtained not without some reluctance, he, by an act of state, allowed a free trade from Ireland to all foreign countries, either at war or in peace with his majesty. He permitted the Irish, at the same time, to retaliate upon the Scots, who, following the example of England, had prohibited their cattle, corn, and beef. The importation of linen and woollen manufactures, stockings, gloves, and other commodities from Scotland, was forbidden, as highly detrimental to the trade of Ireland [s].

A.D. 1667.

In the stagnation of Irish commerce, Ormond, ever attentive to the interests of the kingdom, resolved on the improvement of one of its principal resources. An act of parliament was passed at Dublin to encourage the growth of flax and manufacture of linen. He was at the charge of sending skilful persons into the Low Countries, to make observations on the manner of conducting it, and to engage some of the most experienced artists. At his instance, sir William Temple sent to Ireland five hundred families from Brabant, skilled in manufacturing linen, while others were procured from Rochelle, and the isle of Rhé, from Jersey, and the neighbouring parts of France [t].

Nor was this excellent governor less assiduous to cultivate knowlege and learning in Ireland. On the restoration of the king, he found the university of Dublin in the utmost disorder. Dr. Jeremiah Taylor, the pious and learned bishop of Downe, was entrusted with the regulation of this seminary; and the lord-lieutenant wisely deemed it an important object of his administration, to inspect the discipline, and to promote the interests of the body and its particular members.

While the duke of Ormond employed his power in Ireland to the noblest purposes, his enemies in England

s Borlase. t Carte.

were inceſſantly labouring to diſgrace him. Buckingham, in particular, was impatient to ſupplant him in his poſts of ſteward of the houſhold, and lieutenant of Ireland. The moſt malicious induſtry, therefore, was uſed, to find out in his conduct ſome plauſible ground of accuſation; and thoſe whom Ormond had offended in his government, by denying their unwarrantable requeſts, became willing inſtruments in forwarding this ungenerous purpoſe. He had given a commiſſion for trying the mutineers at Carrickfergus by martial law, in what his enemies called a time of peace, when an invaſion was expected, when the mutinous troops had ſeized the king's forts, and maintained them by force of arms. From an obſolete Iriſh law, of the eighteenth of Henry VI. it was inferred, that the chief governor could not legally iſſue warrants for quartering ſoldiers in Dublin, and that Ormond (who, however, differed totally from the perſons deſcribed in the law) had incurred the guilt of high-treaſon, by maintaining the king's guards, and quartering the troops neceſſary for the ſafety of his government, agreeably to the uſage of his predeceſſors. Theſe two points of delinquency, with others ſtill more frivolous, were formed into twelve articles of impeachment, which were diſplayed in the utmoſt triumph by Buckingham and his creatures. Charles expreſſed ſome indignation at theſe attempts againſt the duke of Ormond; but, at the ſame time, declined ſending him any approbation of his conduct in quartering ſoldiers, or any directions for the future, leaving him entirely to his own diſcretion. Thoſe of the Iriſh who had formerly allowed no benefit of laws to others, now clamoured for a ſtrict and liberal adherence to law. An oppoſition was made in many towns to quartering the army; while Ormond, with a vigour which was juſtified by the ſituation of public affairs, continued to iſſue and enforce his warrants. Every complaint of miſconduct in the Iriſh government, was received in England with avidity. The earl of Orrery, who now enjoyed the preſidential government of Munſter, and ſeems to have aſpired to the chief government of Ireland, was, from a deſire of recommending himſelf to the Engliſh miniſtry, ſeduced to embrace the views of thoſe who ſought the ruin of the deputy. The earl prepared for a voyage to England, and Ormond, dreading his deſign, reſolved to repair thither likewiſe. He, therefore, committed the care of Ireland to his gallant ſon, the earl of Oſſory [u].

Intrigues againſt the duke of Ormond.

[u] Borlaſe.

When

When the duke arrived in London, he found his enemies ſtill deeply engaged in intrigues to diſgrace him, notwithſtanding the fair profeſſions of Buckingham. Attempts were made to poſſeſs the king with an opinion, that great embezzlement had prevailed in the revenue of Ireland; a point which the preſent neceſſities of the crown, it was ſuppoſed would irritate him violently againſt Ormond. But after a long enquiry, no ground of accuſation againſt the lieutenant could be diſcovered. Inſidious attempts were next made to bring him to a voluntary reſignation of his government; which alſo proving ineffectual, the king was wearied with inceſſant applications for his removal; and the cabal was now become too powerful to be refuſed. At laſt, after repeated expoſtu- A.D.1669.
lations on the part of the duke of Ormond, lord Arlington was employed to acquaint him in form, that his majeſty intended to appoint a new lieutenant of Ireland, lord Robarts, lord privy-ſeal. This nobleman was ſent thither entirely for the purpoſe of ſcrutinizing the conduct of his predeceſſor; but could not, with all his diligence, diſcover any ſolid objections to the government of the duke. Of a ſullen temper, and an ungracious deportment, he ſoon diſguſted the Iriſh, who had been habituated to the affable and conciliating manners of the duke of Ormond. Being, therefore, uſeleſs to his faction in England, he was ſpeedily recalled, and John, lord Berkley of Stratton, nominated his ſucceſſor.

Ormond diſmiſſed.

Berkley appointed to the government of Ireland.

The new lieutenant, who was a creature of the duke of Buckingham's, is ſaid to have obtained his preferment by the influence of the popiſh party. It is certain, however, that his adminiſtration opened an alarming ſcene in Ireland. He had ſcarcely aſſumed the reins of government when his conduct diſcovered a predilection in favour of Roman catholics, and particularly the Anti-Remonſtrants, of whom it is neceſſary to give ſome account. A.D.1670.

For almoſt a century the meaſure of obedience due by Papiſts to the civil power, was a queſtion frequently agitated in their conventions, and which had given riſe to great violence during the late commotions. On the reſtoration of Charles, ſome of the Iriſh prelates and clergy, dreading ſeverities from the government, commiſſioned Peter Walſh, a Franciſcan friar, to preſent to the king an addreſs, congratulating his acceſſion to the throne, and imploring the benefits of the peace made with Ormond in the year 1648. Walſh, judging it neceſſary to obviate the objection againſt tolerating the Romiſh religion, from

its inconſiſtency with the ſecurity of a proteſtant government, drew up the remonſtrance, as it was called, of the Roman catholic clergy of Ireland.

In this remonſtrance they acknowleged the king to be the rightful ſovereign of the realm of Ireland; that they were bound to obey him in all civil and temporal affairs, notwithſtanding any ſentence or declaration of the ſee of Rome; and they declared their reſolution to detect and oppoſe all conſpiracies and traiterous attempts againſt the king. The remonſtrance thus framed, was preſented to the duke of Ormond, who objected that it was not ſigned by the clergy, but offered ſolely on the authority of Walſh, their procurator. One Iriſh biſhop, and upwards of twenty of their clergy, immediately ſubſcribed it. Circular letters were, at the ſame time, ſent to the Iriſh prelates in their ſeveral reſidences, inviting them to concur in an addreſs, which was ſoon ſubſcribed by an additional number of the clergy, and by a reſpectable number of lay lords and gentlemen. A declaration againſt the temporal authority of the pope could not be acceptable at Rome. The internuncio of Bruſſels, therefore, who had the charge of eccleſiaſtical affairs in Ireland, and cardinal Barberini, were both employed to cenſure the remonſtrance in the pope's name. A powerful party was ſoon formed againſt the remonſtrance: ſome, in particular the Jeſuits, propoſed new forms of an addreſs, which, appearing evaſive, were judged ineffectual; and others objected to that of Peter Walſh, for ſeveral reaſons. Some expreſſed a deſire that the remonſtrance ſhould be debated in a national ſynod, and for this purpoſe applied to Ormond, who allowed them to aſſemble. The agents of Rome laboured to prevent the deſign, but, after ſome vigorous oppoſition, the aſſembly was appointed to be held at Dublin, on the 11th of June, 1666. The whole proceedings of the clergy were intemperate and tumultuous. The members, violently inflamed againſt each other, divided into two parties, and the aſſembly broke up without any deciſion.

On the arrival of lord Berkeley, provincial councils and diocefan ſynods were convened; and the pope, who named the biſhops, and commanded the preferments of regulars, eaſily formed his party[x]. The remonſtrants were every where diſpoſſeſſed of their cures and ſtations; and Walſh and his aſſociates were denounced excommu-

[x] Carte.

nicated.

nicated. The anti-remonſtrants had juſt now a powerful partizan in Peter Talbot, who was created by the pope archbiſhop of Dublin, for the very purpoſe of chaſtiſing the opponents of his temporal authority. This eccleſiaſtic, through the patronage of Buckingham, had acquired great favour at the Engliſh court, and was, therefore, become an object of conſequence to the popiſh clergy; to whom he declared publicly, that the king had appointed him to ſuperintend their whole order in Ireland; and he perſuaded lord Berkeley, that his influence in this country was irreſiſtible. Talbot propoſed to celebrate a maſs in Dublin with extraordinary ſplendor; and, on this occaſion, he applied to ſir Ellis Leighton, ſecretary to the lord-lieutenant, to borrow ſome hangings and plate, which made part of the furniture of the caſtle. The ſecretary complied with the requeſt, and, in his compliment to Talbot, was ſaid to have expreſſed a wiſh that high maſs might ſoon be celebrated at Chriſt-Church.

The body of Romiſh clergy was now on the point of uniting in the doctrine of the pope's unlimited authority; a doctrine rejected in France and other catholic countries, and to which the late miſeries of Ireland were in a great meaſure to be imputed. The remonſtrants, who oppoſed this doctrine, requeſted to lay their caſe before the lieutenant, but he refuſed them an audience. They next addreſſed themſelves to the duke of Ormond, in whom they found a zealous friend to their intereſts; but Berkeley complained of his officiouſneſs, and openly declared, that he would conſider any new orders from the Engliſh council as the dictates of the duke, and therefore diſregard them. Talbot, and his colleagues, proceeded without reſtraint in the exerciſe of a foreign juriſdiction, and in ſeverely treating thoſe who preſumed to maintain the doctrine of allegiance.

This indulgence, however, was not the only favour ſhown by the lieutenant to Iriſh Catholics. An order was ſoon after iſſued for granting commiſſions of the peace to profeſſed Papiſts, and admitting them to inhabit and trade in corporations. An attempt to eſtabliſh ſome popiſh aldermen, and a popiſh council in Dublin, was, after much oppoſition, at length affected. The Proteſtants were thrown into conſternation, and every where began to entertain apprehenſions of new plots and maſſacres.

A number of popiſh lords and gentlemen, encouraged by the favourable diſpoſitions which the court diſcovered

A.D.1671. towards their party, granted a commiſſion to Talbot for laying their grievances before the king and parliament of England. He accordingly preſented their petition to the king and council[y]. It ſet forth that the petitioners had, on account of their loyalty, been unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſed of their lands; they prayed that ſome impartial perſons ſhould be employed to examine their grievances; and that, in the mean time, the king would ſuſpend his grants of any lands not yet diſpoſed of in Ireland. A committee was appointed to conſider this petition. Ormond, one of the members of it, was alarmed at the project of overturning the whole ſettlement of Ireland; perſuaded, that though ſome grievances had been ſuſtained by individuals, they were not to be redreſſed by involving the kingdom in general confuſion. He therefore preſſed that the petitioners might not be heard, nor their counſel admitted to object againſt the acts. When this could not be obtained, he anſwered all their allegations fully; and ſir Heneage Finch, the attorney-general, to whom all the papers were referred, made a report highly unfavourable to the petitioners. The cabal, however, was determined not to abandon the proſecution of their object. Another committee, from which Ormond was induſtriouſly excluded, was appointed to reviſe all papers and orders for the ſettlement of Ireland. Their report was erroneous. A third commiſſion was iſſued, and many months waſted in endeavouring to find materials for another report.

The Roman Catholics preſent a petition to the king.

In the mean time a general alarm prevailed over Ireland. The adventurers and ſoldiers, the forty-nine officers, the Connaught purchaſers, preſented their ſeveral petitions, which all agreed in the maintenance of the preſent ſettlement. In England, the people was not indifferent to the conduct of Iriſh affairs, but beheld with extreme apprehenſion every indulgence to popery. Their clamour was ſo violent, that the miniſters dreaded the approaching parliament; they now affected to condemn lord Berkeley, whom they found it neceſſary to remove from his government, and appointed the earl of Eſſex in his place. The Engliſh parliament immediately preſented to the king an addreſs relative to the affairs of Ireland. They petitioned, that he would maintain the acts of ſettlement and explanation, and recall his late commiſſion of enquiry, as dangerous to the peace of the kingdom; requeſting him, at the ſame time, to give orders that no

[y] Carte.

Papiſts

Papiſts ſhould be admitted juſtices of the peace, ſheriffs, coroners, or magiſtrates in Ireland; and that all licences to Papiſts for inhabiting within corporations ſhould be recalled. They farther required, that all popiſh prelates and others, exerciſing eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction by the pope's authority, particularly Peter Talbot, pretended archbiſhop of Dublin, ſhould be commanded to depart from Ireland, and all other his majeſty's dominions; and that all convents and ſeminaries ſhould be diſſolved, and all ſecular prieſts baniſhed.

In conſequence of this addreſs, the commiſſion of enquiry was ſuperſeded, and the king declared his reſolution to maintain the acts of ſettlement. The obnoxious proceedings in the corporation of Dublin were reverſed; the ejected Proteſtants reſtored to their places; and the countenance of the government, ſo inconſiderately ſhown to the popiſh intereſt, was for a time withdrawn.

Eſſex, through the whole of his adminiſtration, appears to have been greatly embarraſſed by the fears of the Engliſh factions, and the reports which might be ſpread in London to his diſadvantage. Nor was he attentive to gratify his majeſty by an implicit obſequiouſneſs to his commands, when theſe were not exactly conformable to law. A ſucceſſor to his government was therefore meditated by the court; and Ormond, who had for a conſiderable time been treated by the king with great neglect, was, unexpectedly, once more appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland [z].

A.D. 1677. *Ormond again appointed lieutenant.*

Ormond no ſooner reſumed the reins of the Iriſh government, than he directed his attention particularly towards rendering the army reſpectable, to have it duly exerciſed, and regularly paid. He likewiſe reſolved to convene a parliament for procuring the ſupplies which were neceſſary to the defence of the kingdom, and for correcting many abuſes, and redreſſing a number of public grievances. But while he was meditating theſe ſalutary purpoſes, an alarming incident in England interrupted all his meaſures, and involved his adminiſtration in perplexity. This incident was the popiſh plot; concerning which he was informed, by a letter from the ſecretary of ſtate, that it extended to Ireland; that Peter Talbot was engaged in it; and that perſons were hired to aſſaſſinate the lord-lieutenant. At a time when the proteſtants of

[z] Carte.

Ire-

Ireland entertained such great apprehensions of the secret designs of the Roman Catholics, the least degree of inactivity on the part of the government, or the slightest doubt of the reality of the plot in general, would have been considered as dangerous and treasonable. Peter Talbot, however, factiously inclined, was at present utterly incapable of taking any active part in a conspiracy. For two years violently afflicted with the stone and strangury, he had petitioned for a tacit permission to remove from Cheshire, and die in Ireland. Ormond, however, instantly signed a warrant to secure his person. Orders were issued that all officers and soldiers should repair to their respective garrisons; that popish ecclesiastics should depart the kingdom; and that all Papists should surrender their arms within twenty days to persons appointed, and receive and deposit them in the king's stores. Informations quickly multiplied; and directions were received from England to seize Richard Talbot, lord Mountgarret, and his son, and a colonel of the name of Peppard. Lord Mountgarret, represented as a dangerous conspirator, was, at this time, eighty years old, bed-ridden, and in a state of dotage; and, to the farther discredit of the evidences, no colonel Peppard was known, or could be found in Ireland. On examining Richard Talbot, nothing could be collected to warrant his farther detention; and he was, therefore, by order of the English council, suffered to depart from Ireland.

Ormond disarms the Papists.

Amidst these general alarms, Ormond proceeded with coolness and vigour to secure the public tranquillity. He disarmed the Papists, settled the militia, and preserved the army untainted by the clamours of the seditious. The country was at this time infested by a number of vagabond robbers, called Tories, who concealed themselves in the mountains and bogs of Ulster, and other parts of the kingdom, whence they issued out occasionally, and harrassed the inoffensive inhabitants with every kind of outrage. They were usually concealed by their relations; but sometimes by the popish priest, who, notwithstanding the repeated proclamations of the government, continued to exercise his function in the neighbourhood of these robbers. In a season of apparent danger, Ormond had recourse to an extraordinary expedient, justified only by necessity. A proclamation was published, directing, that the near relations of known Tories should be committed to prison, until such vagabonds were killed or brought

brought to juſtice; and that any popiſh pretended pariſh-prieſt of any place, where murder and robbery was committed by thoſe Tories, ſhould be committed to priſon, and thence tranſported, unleſs within fourteen days the guilty perſons were killed or taken, or ſuch diſcovery made, that they might be apprehended and brought to juſtice.

Theſe meaſures, however rigorous, were conſidered by many of the Proteſtants as inſufficient for the exigence of the occaſion. They propoſed, that thoſe of the old Iriſh who ſtill enjoyed the rank of chieftainry, and who, having loſt their eſtates, were likely to engage in any deſperate purpoſe, ſhould be ſecured, ſo as to reſtrain their ſepts from rebellion. But Ormond conſidered it as unjuſt to impriſon men before they had diſcovered any dangerous diſpoſitions. It was well known how much the impriſonments, and other ſeverities of ſir William Parſons, had contributed to drive numbers into the laſt rebellion; and neither the duke nor the privy-council thought it prudent to hazard a repetition of the ſame meaſures. Ormond and the council, therefore, took a middle courſe. They iſſued a proclamation, that none of the popiſh religion ſhould come into the caſtle of Dublin, or any other fort or citadel, without ſpecial order from the lord-lieutenant; that fairs and markets ſhould be held without the walls of ſome principal cities, to which Papiſts were to reſort unarmed. Such of them as had lately been admitted into theſe cities were removed; and from others, where the popiſh inhabitants chiefly abounded, all the idle and uſeleſs were expelled [a].

This moderate conduct of the government, however well adapted to preſerve the tranquillity of the nation, was not entirely agreeable to the paſſions and prejudices of many Engliſh ſubjects in Ireland. The more violent attempted to precipitate the duke of Ormond into rigorous meaſures, by alarming him with fears of aſſaſſination. This expedient proving ineffectual, they tranſmitted complaints to England, inſinuating that the Iriſh Proteſtants were in the utmoſt danger, and little care taken by the lieutenant for their defence. Ormond was accuſed of not ſeizing the Iriſh chieftains; of not expelling Papiſts from corporate towns; of commanding them by proclamation to deliver up their arms, inſtead of ſending ſoldiers

[a] Memoirs of Ireland.

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A.D.1679. to diſarm them. The unreaſonableneſs of theſe complaints prevented them from being received with avidity by the prevailing party in England, where the duke's enemies conſpired to load him with the odium of being popiſhly inclined. Lord Shaftſbury, who was impatient to remove Ormond from his government, endeavoured to enforce theſe inſinuations in the houſe of lords, and exerted all his influence with the king for accompliſhing this meaſure; but Charles firmly reſiſted his applications. Shaftſbury and his party were now obliged to proceed indirectly, and to procure orders for the council of Ireland to tranſmit ſevere bills againſt popiſh recuſants. Should they refuſe, they muſt be removed; ſhould they obey, the Iriſh might be driven to rebellion. But the prudence of Ormond baffled all the inſidious practices of his enemies in England. On the death of his gallant ſon, the earl of Oſſory, they renewed their efforts to remove him from
A.D.1681. the government of Ireland. Every art of faction and intrigue was employed for this purpoſe; but Ormond ſtood the attack unmoved. After ſeveral trials in Ireland, the minds of the people were at length relieved from all the apprehenſions of a plot, which had been ſo induſtriouſly propagated; trade and induſtry increaſed; and the compoſed ſtate of public affairs enabled Ormond to commit the ſword of ſtate to a deputy, the earl of Arran, and to repair to England, whither he was called by the king.

Ormond called to England.

A.D.1634. After two years reſidence in England, Ormond prepared to return to his government, which he had ſcarcely reſumed, when he was ſurpriſed at receiving proof that, with reſpect to this country, were formed deſigns, in which his concurrence could not be expected. The party which had made ſuch deſperate efforts to circumſcribe the king within the ſtrict limits of the conſtitution, and to exclude the duke of York from the ſucceſſion, was totally ſubdued; and the king, indulging himſelf in the indolent enjoyment of that ſuperiority which he had acquired over all the oppoſers of his power, committed the reins of government to the duke of York. The duke repreſented to his brother the neceſſity of ſecuring and perpetuating that ſuperiority he had now acquired, and which could only be effected by an army implicitly devoted to his ſervice. For this purpoſe he turned the king's attention to Ireland, where might be found a military eſtabliſhment, ſufficient to give reſpect and ſtability to his government. But it was not the preſent army of Ireland,

for

for the attachment of which the duke of York could so peremptorily engage. He regarded it as an assemblage of fanatical republicans, irreconcileable to monarchical government. He advised the king to fix his reliance on another party, that of the Catholics, who, notwithstanding all their grievances, were unalterably devoted to the crown and the presumptive heir. Charles, in careless compliance with his brother, hastily adopted this scheme. In consequence of this project, it was speedily resolved to remove the duke of Ormond from the government of Ireland, as his powers could not be diminished, and his principles were known to be repugnant to this new design. Accordingly the duke of Ormond, when he had but just resumed his government, received private assurances of his intended removal; and these were soon followed by a letter from the king, acquainting him of the earl of Rochester being appointed to succeed him.

Rochester appointed governor of Ireland.

The government of Ireland was granted to Rochester with such limitations, that he discovered some reluctance to assume it. The king seemed again disposed to change his measures and his counsellors, and all projects with respect to the management of Irish affairs appeared suspended. The hopes of the protestant subjects revived; those of the Roman Catholics in Ireland were proportionably depressed, when the death of Charles II. attended with the immediate recall of the duke of Ormond, produced a total revolution in the prospects of the several parties, and opened a new scene of politics in this kingdom [b].

A.D. 1684.

James II. Ormond is remanded from the government.

On the accession of James, the Irish Catholics were inspired with the most extravagant expectations. Ormond, whom the violent of their party considered as a mortal enemy, was removed from his government, with evident impatience of his continuing in power, even for the shortest time. He was directed to resign the sword immediately to two lords-justices. The age and infirmities of the duke were assigned as the cause of his removal, and, in public, Ormond affected to believe this to be the true cause. But, however he concealed his sentiments of the king's real purpose, the protestant subjects of Ireland felt the most melancholy apprehensions. They saw the popish gentry crowding in triumph to the capital, and were terrified with rumours of catholic meetings. Imaginary dangers were discovered even in the choice of a new council, though composed of Protestants, and in the ap-

[b] Carte.

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pointment of two lords-justices, who had repeatedly approved their fidelity in this station; Boyle, primate and
A.D.1685. chancellor, and Forbes, earl of Granard. But, whatever difference might be in the political or religious sentiments of these governors, they now concurred in supporting the general interest of Protestants, and the public tranquillity. Futile informations were every day propagated of dangerous plots formed against the king, by papists and fanatics respectively; but all such officious accusations were discouraged by the justices. So intolerable, however, was the insolence of the Catholics, and so violent the clamours of both parties, that Granard expressed a desire of being dismissed from his station. James thought his service so necessary at present, that, in a letter written with his own hand, he assured him nothing should be done in Ireland prejudicial to the protestant interest; and with these assurances the lords-justices laboured to allay the fears of the Protestants. The effect of their endeavours to preserve the public peace was soon discovered, on the attempts made in Scotland and England to disturb the government of James. The Irish forces marched with alacrity to the northern province, to be transported, if necessary, to serve against the adherents of Argyle.

James, from the late success of his arms in quelling Monmouth's rebellion, proceeded with less reserve in the affairs of Ireland. Information was transmitted by his order to the lords-justices, that, for the safety of the kingdom, it was judged necessary to recall the arms of the militia, and to deposit them in the king's stores. This militia was formed entirely of Protestants, embodied and disciplined by the duke of Ormond. The order for resigning the arms was received with consternation by men trained to a habitual horror of the Irish Catholics, and who now would be exposed defenceless to their fury. Their apprehensions were increased by the conduct of the Papists, who threatened them with the vengeance of the government, should they retain any arms in their possession. The justices were not without fears, that the proclamation for disarming them might be attended with some commotion. Boyle was employed to practise with the citizens of Dublin, and laboured to dissipate their terror. By his persuasion they resigned their arms; and this example so much influenced other quarters of the kingdom, that in all places the orders of government were obeyed without apparent reluctance [c].

The Protestants disarmed.

[c] Walsh.

But

But this measure was only the beginning of that great work which James meditated. A new chief governor, who might prove more obsequious to the king's wishes than the present lords-justices, was now destined for Ireland. All thoughts of employing the earl of Rochester in this kingdom had ended with the life of the late monarch. He was advanced by his brother-in-law to the dignity of lord high-treasurer of England; and Clarendon, the king's other brother-in-law, was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

Earl of Clarendon appointed lord-lieutenant.

James, in his public instructions to the earl of Clarendon, intimated a desire of introducing Catholics into corporations, and investing them with judicial offices; at the same time it was directed some condescension should be shewn to the apprehensions of the Protestants.

No sooner had the protestant militia been disarmed, than the savage banditti, called Tories, issued in vast numbers from their retreats, to the no small terror of the civilized and industrious inhabitants. While the English were defenceless against their ravages, the Irish would not suppress their friends and kinsmen. The grievance was so urgent, that Clarendon was impowered to restore some arms to those who were fit to be entrusted, and most exposed to depredation; but his caution was too great for exercising this power with the necessary speed and alacrity. In the mean time, the Protestants were not only a prey to robbers, but were exposed to the malice of miscreants still more detestable. A number of informers suddenly arose in different quarters, and laboured to involve their neighbours in the guilt of treason. Where their memories could supply no materials for casual conversation, they tortured their inventions for plausible fiction, in order to accuse the English inhabitants of words spoken against the king when duke of York. The most innocent persons were thus accused, sometimes imprisoned, exposed to a troublesome prosecution, or harrassed with continual apprehensions from revenge and perjury. Informations of this kind were every day received by the lord-lieutenant, who, though he saw clearly through their falshood and malice, yet could not venture openly to discover them, as the king affected a particular jealousy of the protestant subjects in Ireland [d].

The Irish, encouraged by the prepossession of the king, prepared a petition for the relief of those who had suffered

[d] Carte.

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by the acts of ſettlement. They had the hardineſs to demand of the lieutenant a general reverſal of the outlawries occaſioned by the rebellion of the year 1641. Though the caſe of ſome individuals might have merited attention and favour, yet the petition, if granted in its full extent, muſt have been conſidered as a ſtep to the ſubverſion of all eſtabliſhments of property. But the Iriſh knew no moderation in their demands. Their gentry, who crouded to the court of England, were favourably received; and hither the earl of Tyrconnel, a zealous Catholic, had alſo repaired on the arrival of lord Clarendon in Ireland, and repreſented the Iriſh affairs in ſuch a manner as ſuited the intereſts of his party, or gratified the violence of his violence. The ſeals of Ireland were ſuddenly taken from primate Boyle; and ſir Charles Porter, a man whoſe diſtreſſed circumſtances promiſed to render him implicitly ſubmiſſive to the court, was ſent thither as chancellor. Three proteſtant judges, without any reaſon aſſigned, were at once removed from their offices, which were conferred on Nugent, Daly, and Ingoldſby, the two firſt of whom were Iriſh, and the latter an Engliſhman. But Ingoldſby declining this preferment, Rice, another Iriſh lawyer, not of unexceptionable character, was choſen to ſupply his place. In vain did lord Clarendon repreſent, that the admiſſion of Roman Catholics into offices of truſt and honour, without taking the oath of ſupremacy, was contrary to law. All theſe new popiſh judges, and ſome lawyers of the ſame perſuaſion, were admitted into the privy-council of Ireland, an honour not hitherto conferred on men of their rank. Rice was aſhamed of ſuch promotions, and heſitated; Nagle, an active and ſkilful lawyer of the popiſh party, and greatly favoured by Tyrconnel, declined to accept an honour which would interfere with the ſolid advantages of his profeſſion.

The Proteſtants were every where alarmed at theſe innovations; many ſold their effects, and abandoned a country in which they expected a ſpeedy eſtabliſhment of popery, and a confuſion of poſſeſſions. The Iriſh, inſtead of waiting quietly for the effects of the king's favour, ſeemed rather ſolicitous to augment the terror of their rivals. They boaſted their correſpondence with Whitehall, and talked confidently of great alterations both in the army and the church. The archbiſhoprick of Caſhel was vacant, nor could the king be perſuaded to fill it up. The popiſh clergy did not ſcruple to report, that he had written to the pope to nominate a new archbiſhop; he

but though the report seems not to have been well founded, yet it soon appeared that the revenues of this, and other vacant sees, were reserved for the maintenance of popish bishops. Orders were issued by the king's command, that the catholic clergy should not be molested in the exercise of their functions; and these were soon followed by a notification of the royal pleasure, that the prelates should appear publickly in the habit of their order; the protestant clergy was prohibited from treating on controversial points in the pulpit; and whoever presumed to glance the slightest reflection on popery, was instantly reported to the king, and marked as disaffected and seditious [e].

While every thing tended to alarm the Protestants, their apprehension was increased by the arrival of the earl of Tyrconnel, with a commission to command and regulate the army, independently of the lord-lieutenant, with particular orders likewise for the admission of Roman Catholics to the freedom of corporations, and the offices of sheriffs and justices of the peace; besides a number of new military commissions, by which the old protestant officers were suspended, and the most despicable of the catholic party substituted in their place. His natural violence, inflamed by the adulation of the popish party, prompted him to the most insolent treatment of the lord-lieutenant. He raved of the iniquity of the acts of settlement, and of misconduct in the whole administration of Ireland. He proceeded to execute his commission with the most furious impatience. The king's instruction implied no more than that all subjects indiscriminately should be admitted to serve his majesty, without regard to their religious principles; but this lord issued strict orders that none but Catholics should be admitted into the army. Lord Clarendon remonstrated against a conduct which must inflame the animosities already excited in the kingdom. Tyrconnel was for a moment confounded, and had the meanness to deny his own orders; but lord Roscommon, with a manly boldness, asserted to his face, that he and other officers had received these orders from him in the most peremptory terms.

The more violent of the popish party declared, that, in a few months, not one protestant would be left in the army; and now that they were provided with arms, they would speedily resume possession of their lands. Laymen

[e] Mem. of Ireland.

and eccleſiaſtics concurred alike in promoting the general ferment. Some of the old proprietors cautioned the tenants againſt paying any rent to their Engliſh landlords; and, with the ſame inſolence, ſome popiſh clergy forbade the people to pay tithes to proteſtant incumbents.

The earl of Clarendon, with the zeal of a faithful miniſter, remonſtrated both to the king and Sunderland againſt the violence and preſumption of Tyrconnel. To quiet the ſuſpicions and fears of the Proteſtants, he recommended a commiſſion of grace for confirming titles, and a general pardon for offenſive words ſpoken againſt the king while duke of York. But Sunderland returned no anſwer to his repreſentations, and was even ſuſpected of ſecreting his letters from the king. James now poſitively refuſed to repeat his former aſſurances of maintaining the acts of ſettlement by a proclamation. Tyrconnel, having already filled one complete moiety of the army with Iriſh Catholics, haſtened to England, to lay his repreſentations before the king.

In the mean time Clarendon was unjuſtly accuſed to the king of male-adminiſtration. His defence was clear and ſatisfactory; but as he was not an inſtrument ſuited to the execution of the wild ſchemes deviſed by the king's bigotted couſellors, the appointment of a ſucceſſor to his lieutenancy became an object of deliberation in the cabinet. Several lords were propoſed and rejected by the king: at laſt Tyrconnel, the moſt dangerous of the competitors, having privately ſtipulated to pay Sunderland an annual penſion from the profits of the Iriſh government was, by the intereſt of that miniſter, appointed chief-governor of Ireland, with the inferior title of lord-deputy. To this popiſh delegate lord Clarendon reſigned the ſword of ſtate, in a general and violent agitation of the kingdom. He embarked at the port of Dublin, attended by fifteen hundred proteſtant families of that city, who abandoned a kingdom devoted to the violence of a popiſh adminiſtration. Sir Charles Porter not proving ſo pliant as the king expected, was removed from his office of chancellor, and in his room was placed ſir Alexander Fitton, a man convicted of forgery, and publicly ſtigmatized, but who atoned for the infamy of his character by conforming to the king's religion. This odious appointment was followed by conſtituting Nagle, the popiſh lawyer, attorney-general, in the place of ſir William Domville, a Proteſtant of diſtinguiſhed loyalty and abilities. Nugent and Rice were advanced to the ſtation of chief judges; and

Tyrconnel appointed lord-deputy.

Iriſh

Iriſh Papiſts were choſen to ſucceed them in their former offices [f].

Almoſt the whole Iriſh army was by this time formed of Catholics; and a number of proteſtant officers, deprived of their commiſſions which they had purchaſed, and gradually driven out of the kingdom, ſought refuge in Holland, where they were protected and employed by the prince of Orange. Tyrconnel reſolved to inveſt the catholic party with the whole power of the kingdom, eſpecially that of modelling all future parliaments; addreſſed himſelf to the city of Dublin, and recommended them to reſign their charter to the king. They heſitated to adopt a meaſure for which he had not even aſſigned a plauſible pretence; and, though he grew more peremptory, they ſtill delayed their anſwer. At laſt, in a rage of diſappointment, he loaded them with reproaches, and threatened them with all the ſeverity of the royal vengeance. It was in vain to expoſtulate with the deputy on the impropriety of his requiſition; they therefore, by the hands of their recorder, who was diſpatched to London, preſented to the king a petition, ſetting forth their zealous attachment to his government, and imploring the continuance of their charter. The application was rejected with diſdain; a quo warranto was immediately iſſued, and judgment haſtily pronounced againſt their charter. Many other corporations were ſoon after diſſolved by the ſame procedure; and ſome were influenced to ſurrender their charters by promiſes and menaces. A.D. 1687. *Quo Warrantos iſſued.*

In forming the new corporations it was the general rule that in great cities, where the Engliſh intereſt had been predominant, two thirds of the members ſhould be Catholics, and one third Proteſtants; but the latter were choſen from Quakers, or other enthuſiaſts, from the poor, the profligate, and contemptible. In one northern city the chief magiſtracy was conferred upon a man who had been condemned to the gallows.

Before the removal of lord Clarendon, the king's mandate had been preſented to the governors of the univerſity, directing them to admit one Green, a Roman Catholic, to a profeſſorſhip [g]. It was ignorantly ſtyled in the king's letter a profeſſorſhip of the Iriſh language, though no ſuch eſtabliſhment had ever been made. The emoluments, therefore, as well as the office, exiſted only in imagination; but though Green was thus diſappointed,

[f] Secret Conſults, &c. [g] Archives of Trin. Coll. Dub. Mſs.

Attacks on the univerſity of Dublin.

the univerſity expected, with the moſt melancholy apprehenſions, ſome farther attacks on their privileges. In this ſituation they reſolved to convert moſt of their plate into money, for the purpoſe of erecting new buildings, or purchaſing lands. They had obtained the conſent of their viſitors to this project, and of Clarendon, for tranſporting their plate, duty-free, into England, as to a better market. In the mean time Tyrconnel arrived, and, being informed of the tranſaction, ſeized the plate in the port of Dublin, and depoſited it in the king's ſtores. The more moderate of his adviſers, aſhamed of this arbitrary conduct, prevailed on him to reſtore it to the univerſity. The plate was ſold; when, in an inſtant, all the fury of Tyrconnel was rekindled. The purchaſer appeared before him: Nugent, the lord-chief-juſtice, with aſtoniſhing impudence, accuſed him of purchaſing ſtolen goods, the property of the king, and obliged him to give ſecurity to proſecute the governors of the univerſity. Happily, however, by the interpoſition of Nagle, who poſſeſſed more temper, they were defended from any farther outrage. But this tranſaction was ſcarcely concluded, when another letter from the king directed that one Doyle ſhould be admitted to a fellowſhip, without taking any oaths but the oath of a fellow. The man was not only extremely unqualified in point of education, but ſcandalouſly profligate. He had lately, however, been reconciled to popery, and the merit of his converſion was to be rewarded. But here again the ignorance of his patrons defeated the purpoſe of their party. The oath of a fellow included that of ſupremacy, and this the candidate refuſed to take. The terms of the king's mandate were ſo explicit, that the popiſh judges directed him to procure a ſecond letter; and his character was proved to be ſo infamous, that his friends were aſhamed to make any farther effort in his favour. The vexation of Tyrconnel at this diſappointment was expreſſed in a manner worthy of him: he ſtopped the penſion annually paid to the univerſity from the exchequer, and which, at this time, made the moſt conſiderable part of their ſubſiſtence.

The whole kingdom now reſounded with complaints of the meanneſs, the ignorance, and brutality of the popiſh ſheriffs, ſcandalous partialities in the courts of juſtice, and the inſolence and barbarities of military officers. Robberies and murders were committed with impunity, and confuſion univerſally prevailed [b]. But the alaming de-

[b] Secret Conſults, &c.

creaſe

creaſe of the Iriſh revenue had its full impreſſion on thoſe Engliſh miniſters, whoſe views were not ſolely confined to the eſtabliſhment of popery. They imputed it to the miſconduct of Tyrconnel, and inveighed againſt his violence. Lord Bellaſis, in particular, urged the king to appoint a wiſer and more temperate governor for Ireland. To avert the impending ſtorm, Tyrconnel obtained permiſſion to attend his royal maſter, now in his progreſs at Cheſter. He committed his government to the hands of chancellor Fitton and lord Clanricarde, reminding theſe and his popiſh counſellors of the irreſiſtible power they had now obtained in the kingdom, and, with the moſt profligate indecency, praying God to damn them, ſhould they ever part with it. Rice, chief baron of the exchequer, attended him to Cheſter, and made repreſentations of the ſtate of Ireland, ſo plauſibly calculated to recommend his patron, that the king, without heſitation, remitted Tyrconnel to his government, where he continued to proceed with his uſual violence. *Great diſorders in Ireland.*

The enterprize of the prince of Orange was yet a ſecret to James, when Tyrconnel received intelligence of his deſign from Amſterdam, and conveyed it to the king, by whom and Sunderland it was treated with the utmoſt deriſion. But this infatuated prince was ſoon awakened to a ſenſe of his danger; and, on the firſt certain aſſurance of an invaſion, Tyrconnel was directed to tranſport four thouſand forces to England. The Iriſh Catholics ſtill affected to deſpiſe the prince of Orange and his attempt; but advice being received that the prince had landed in England, that he was advancing towards the capital, and James was deſerted by his ſubjects, the Iriſh and their chief governor ſunk into conſternation. Tyconnel now, forgetting his pride, deſcended to flatter the Proteſtants, and to court them to make the moſt favourable repreſentations of his conduct. In the mean time new commiſſions were iſſued by Tyrconnel for levying forces. The popiſh clergy every where urged the people to take arms; and in all quarters of the kingdom an armed rabble ſuddenly ſtarted up, under the name of the king's ſoldiers, and ſupported themſelves by open depredations. A.D. 1688.

A letter, addreſſed by an unknown perſon to lord Mount-Alexander, in the county of Down, warned him of a general maſſacre intended by the Iriſh. It was confident and circumſtantial, and pointed out Sunday, the 8th of December, as the time for this bloody deſign, which it was propoſed to execute without diſtinction of

age, ſex, or condition. Intelligence of the like import was conveyed to ſome other gentlemen of the northern province. Whatever might be the authority for theſe informations, they ſpread univerſal conſternation among the Proteſtants. The capital became a ſcene of uproar and confuſion. In ſome places the dreadful intelligence was received on the very day appointed for the maſſacre. The people ſtarted ſuddenly from their devotions, and fled in aſtoniſhment; while others, ſeized with the infectious panic, ſwelled the crowds of fugitives. Some gained the coaſt, and were tranſported to England; others ſought ſhelter in walled towns and proteſtant ſettlements, leaving their effects and habitations to the mercy of Iriſh plunderers. In the northern counties, where the Proteſtants were moſt numerous, they collected the arms ſtill left among them, reſolving to defend themſelves, and even meditating the deſign of riſing againſt the preſent government. Derry, otherwiſe called Londonderry, was the town which afforded the principal ſhelter to the fugitive Proteſtants. Seated on the weſt ſide of the lake Foyle, it maintained a communication, by a ferry, with the county from which it derived its name. It was ſurrounded by a firm wall, ſtrengthened by baſtions, but was by no means ſufficient to maintain a ſiege againſt a regular army. On the firſt alarm of the prince of Orange's invaſion of England, Tyrconnel had recalled the garriſon of this city to Dublin. But ſoon perceiving the error of leaving Derry to the government of the townſmen, he detached thither the earl of Antrim's regiment, conſiſting intirely of Papiſts, Iriſh, and Highlanders, to take up their quarters in the place. A body of twelve hundred men, of great ſtature and terrible in their aſpect, followed by a crowd of women and children, arrived at a village called Limavaddy, within twelve miles of Derry, preciſely at the time when the inhabitants received the information of an intended maſſacre. The proprietor of the village inſtantly diſpatched to Derry the moſt alarming accounts of the number, appearance, and ſuſpected deſtination of this band, which ſeemed rather the inſtruments of ſlaughter than the regular forces of government, and conjured the citizens to ſhut their gates againſt the barbarous crew. His meſſenger found them already alarmed by the general reports of danger, and irreſolute what courſe to purſue. Two of the aldermen conſulted the biſhop, who, cautious from his years, and moderate in his principles, adviſed them to peace and ſubmiſſion. Some graver citizens concurre

curred with him; others affected to concur. In the meantime the troops approached, and an advanced party appeared within three hundred yards of the ferry-gate. At this critical moment nine young men of the populace, with an enthuſiaſtic ardour, drew their ſwords, made themſelves maſters of the keys of the city, raiſed the draw-bridge, and locked the Ferry-gate. Being inſtantly joined by numbers of their own rank, they ſecured alſo the other gates. Deaf to all timid remonſtrances they aſſembled in the great ſquare, ſeized the magazine, which afforded them a ſmall quantity of arms and ammunition, and were ſoon countenanced by men of better rank. At length the body of inhabitants caught the ſame ſpirit, and declared for a brave defence. Their numbers were quickly increaſed by a conflux from the different diſtricts. Philip Limavaddy, the perſon who firſt encouraged them to this enterprize, was choſen their governor. They immediately tranſmitted to London an account of their dangers and proceedings; and Cairnes, the moſt conſiderable of their party, was commiſſioned to ſolicit ſuccours from the prince of Orange. At the ſame time their magiſtrates and graver citizens, apprehenſive of the iſſue of an enterprize commenced under every diſadvantage, addreſſed themſelves to Tyrconnel, through the mediation of lord Mountjoy. They repreſented their inability to reſtrain the populace, terrified by the rumours of a maſſacre; and declared their reſolution to confine themſelves intirely to ſelf-defence, without violating their allegiance.

Reſolute conduct of the people of Derry.

Tyrconnel had, at laſt, perceived his error in withdrawing the garriſon from Derry, and endeavoured, when too late, to correct it[h]. A detachment of ſix companies, under the command of lord Mountjoy, was remanded to Ulſter to reduce this city. Mountjoy, a proteſtant lord, was highly acceptable to the inhabitants, who, however, deteſted his popiſh forces. They ſtill diſclaimed all ſeditious purpoſes, but expreſſed a firm reſolution to defend themſelves. After various conferences, Mountjoy was admitted upon conditions. It was particularly ſtipulated, that a free pardon ſhould be granted within fifteen days; that, in the interval, two companies only ſhould be quartered in the city; that the forces afterwards admitted ſhould be formed of at leaſt one half Proteſtants; that, until the pardon was received, the citizens ſhould

[h] Walker's Diary.

keep the guards; and that all who deſired to remove ſhould be left at liberty. Mountjoy aſſumed the command of the city, and was obeyed as a friend and aſſociate. Money was chearfully ſubſcribed, ammunition purchaſed in Scotland, and Cairnes, the agent, earneſtly ſolicited to procure ſupplies.

The example of Derry excited a generous emulation among the northern Proteſtants. Enniſkillen, the only borough-town in the county of Fermanagh, ſituated on an iſland in the narrow part of lake Erne, and inhabited by a few reſolute Proteſtants, refuſed admittance to two companies of Tyrconnel's popiſh army. In Downe, Donnegal, Tyrone, Armanagh, and Monaghan, parties aroſe under the direction of their reſpective leaders, united in the reſolution of defending themſelves and the proteſtant religion. County-councils were nominated, and a general council to meet at Hillſborough, which was veſted with the power of appointing officers, and directing the operations of the aſſociates.

In the mean time Tyrconnel trembled in the capital, and ſeemed on the point of abandoning the kingdom [1]. The prince of Orange was now too much engaged in England to attend to the affairs of the ſiſter kingdom. But what he had neither leiſure nor power to attempt openly, he laboured to effect by practiſing ſecretly with Tyrconnel. Richard Hamilton, a popiſh general, ſent into England on the firſt alarm of an invaſion, was, in ſome ſort, his priſoner. This officer had ſerved with reputation in France, but was baniſhed on account of his imprudent addreſſes to the king's daughter, the princeſs of Conti. He was recommended to the prince as one who had conſiderable influence with Tyrconnel; and as he expreſſed the utmoſt confidence of perſuading the deputy to reſign the government of Ireland, William readily embraced the overture that he ſhould repair thither for that purpoſe. Hamilton arrived at Dublin; but, inſtead of executing his commiſſion, adviſed Tyrconnel to retain poſſeſſion of his government; aſſuring him, that the affairs of England began to wear an aſpect favourable to James, and that nothing but the firmneſs of his friends was neceſſary to reinſtate him. Tyrconnel adopted the advice, and Hamilton was employed in Ireland. The deputy, however, ſtill found it neceſſary to diſſemble; and there-

[1] Secret Conſults, &c.

fore

fore aſſured the proteſtant lords of his readineſs to ſubmit to the prince of Orange. He ſo much impoſed on lord Mountjoy by his plauſible profeſſions of ſincerity, that this nobleman was perſuaded to repair to James, in conjunction with the chief-baron, Rice; to repreſent the weak condition of Ireland, and the neceſſity of yielding to the times, inſtead of exaſperating his Engliſh ſubjects, by a fruitleſs attempt to conquer England with Iriſh forces. He even intimated, that if the king ſhould refuſe to ſurrender Ireland, he ſhould regard the refuſal as the effect of force, and deemed himſelf fully warranted to reſign his authority. Mountjoy, after ſome ſtipulations with Tyrconnel in favour of the Proteſtants, departed to execute his inſtructions; but, on his arrival at Paris, was committed to the Baſtile, while Rice employed himſelf in ſoliciting ſuccours for the ſervice of his maſter. In the mean time Tyrconnel grew outrageous. He utterly denied the ſtipulations made with Mountjoy; the arms yet remaining in the hands of Proteſtants were wreſted from them by his ſoldiers in every place ſubject to his power; their horſes ſeized, their perſons inſulted, and their houſes plundered. Temple, ſon of ſir William, at whoſe inſtances Hamilton had been ſent to Ireland, was ſo much affected at the melancholy iſſue of his advice, that, in the bitterneſs of vexation, he put an end to his own life[k].

Tyrconnel was confirmed in the proſecution of his meaſures by a meſſenger from James, with aſſurances that he would ſoon appear in Ireland at the head of a powerful armament. The deputy, however, had too long ſuffered the northern aſſociators to proceed unmoleſted, both in Munſter and Connaught. On aſſurance of ſupplies from England, they boldly proclaimed William and Mary in the north-eaſtern towns; but their exultation was ſoon allayed by Tyrconnel. He commanded them by a proclamation to lay down their arms, and to diſſolve their aſſemblies. General Hamilton marched againſt them with a formidable body of troops: they gradually retired to Dromore; where the enemy overtaking them, they fled, and were purſued with ſlaughter. They gained Hillſborough, which, however, they quickly abandoned, and continued their flight. Several fled to Britain; others accepted protections from the Iriſh army; but, by the exertions of Rawdon, Mount-Alexander, and other leaders, about four thouſand were ſtill kept embodied, and took their

[k] Secret Conſults, &c.

ſtation

station at Colerain, with the view of preventing the enemy from passing the river Bann; while those of the north-west took refuge in the town of Enniskillen. The Irish army was so engaged in riot and plundering, that the confederates had time to collect, and to fortify Colerain, which, nevertheless, they were at length obliged to abandon. The Irish, after a successful skirmish, passed the Bann in boats, and the Northerns hastened, by various routes, to Derry, as their ultimate refuge.

After the departure of lord Mountjoy, the government of this city had been committed to Lundy, a man who affected great attachment to the protestant cause, and the utmost indignation at the tyrannical proceedings of Tyrconnel. He was, however, on several accounts, suspected of retaining a partiality for James. William, amidst his embarrassments, was obliged to trust and employ him; and when an officer of the name of Hamilton was sent to Derry with arms, ammunition, and money, a commission from William was delivered to Lundy to command in the town, and to administer the oaths of all officers civil and military. Some refused to take the oaths: Lundy would not consent to take them publicly, alleging, that he had already sworn on board Hamilton's vessel. Many of the inhabitants, becoming daily more suspicious of Lundy's designs, prepared to abandon the city, when Cairnes, their agent, happily arrived from London, with assurances from king William, that preparations were made for the relief and protection of Ireland. Animated by this declaration, they now prepared for a brave defence. Lundy seemed to have caught the enthusiasm of the people, and announced his resolution of marching to engage the enemy.

A.D. 1689. *James lands in Ireland.*

James, who had been earnestly soliciting the court of France for assistance, at length obtained his request. On the 7th of March this unhappy monarch embarked at Brest, with fourteen ships of war, six frigates, and three fire-ships [1]. His military forces consisted of about twelve hundred of his own native subjects in the pay of France, and one hundred French officers. With these he arrived at Kinsale, and soon after made his public entry into Dublin, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. Addresses were instantly poured upon him from all orders of people. He returned to each the most gracious and conciliating answer; but his fairest declarations were receiv-

[1] Kennet. Ralph

ed

ed with coldneſs and ſuſpicion, when all the remaining Proteſtants of the privy-council were removed, and their places ſupplied by others of different principles. He now iſſued five ſeveral proclamations: by the firſt, he ordered all Proteſtants who had abandoned the kingdom to return and accept his protection, under the ſevereſt penalties; and that his ſubjects of every perſuaſion ſhould unite againſt the prince of Orange: the ſecond was calculated to ſuppreſs robberies; commanding all Catholics, not of his army, to lay up their arms in their ſeveral abodes: a third invited the country to carry proviſions to his troops: by the fourth he raiſed the value of money; and, by the laſt, ſummoned a parliament to meet at Dublin on the 7th day of May.

Derry, or Londonderry, was conſidered as the place where his arms were likely to meet with the greateſt reſiſtance, and it therefore became a peculiar object of his attention. After various conſultations, it was at laſt reſolved to preſs the city by a ſlow ſiege; and James determined to lead his forces in perſon to the walls [m].

Among thoſe who took arms againſt Tyrconnel and his maſter, was George Walker, a clergyman, of a Yorkſhire family, and rector of a pariſh in the county of Tyrone. Being zealous and indefatigable in defence of liberty and religion, he raiſed a regiment, and commanded it. Nor was he ſatisfied with diſcharging this ſervice, but flew from poſt to poſt, conferring with the leaders, and animating the people to a vigorous reſiſtance againſt the partizans of the abdicated king. Haſtening to Derry, he informed Lundy of the approach of James, reminded him of his former declarations, and intreated him to give the enemy battle before their whole ſtrength was collected. Lundy ſtill affected vigour and zeal. The Iriſh having already paſſed the Bann, he was now to prevent them from croſſing the Finn-water. He ſtationed his forces for this purpoſe; but, in the hour of danger, he refuſed to ſupport them, ſhamefully abandoned his poſt, and hid himſelf within the walls of Derry, ſhutting the gates againſt many of thoſe who fought the ſame refuge.

James marches for Londonderry.

In the mean time there arrived in lake Foyle two Engliſh regiments, the colonels of which had orders to put themſelves under the command of Lundy. They notified their arrival to this officer, who, by a written anſwer,

[m] Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times.

directed

directed them to land; his meſſenger, at the ſame time, delivering his orders that they ſhould leave their men on board, and come to the city with ſome of their officers, to conſult on the meaſures neceſſary in the preſent juncture, when, though all uſeleſs mouths ſhould be diſmiſſed, there would not be proviſions for ten days. Eleven officers from the ſhips, and five of the town, formed a council of war, in which it was agreed, in conſequence of Lundy's repreſentations, that the place was not tenable; that the Engliſh regiments ſhould not diſembark; and that the principal officers ſhou'd privately withdraw from the town, and leave the inhabitants to make the beſt conditions in their power with the enemy. Theſe reſolutions being communicated to the town-council, it was reſolved to offer terms of capitulation to James, who now advanced ſlowly towards the city. Theſe proceedings were no ſooner known to the people, than they exclaimed againſt the governor, the council, and every ſuſpected officer, and cried aloud for vengeance againſt their betrayers. In the violence of reſentment they ſlew one officer, as he was haſtening to make his eſcape from the city, and another they wounded. In this moment of uproar, Murray, a brave and popular captain, arrived at the head of a reinforcement, and, though Lundy commanded him to retire, inſiſted on entering the town, and was received with acclamations. He inveighed againſt the baſe purpoſe of ſurrendering to a cruel and perfidious enemy; the people liſtened to him with rapture; and, while he expoſtulated with Lundy, they ruſhed to the walls, pointed the cannon, and fired on James and his advanced party, who approached to take poſſeſſion of the city. The more cautious and timid ſent a deputation to apologize for this violence; but the body of the people declared unanimouſly for defence. The authority of the governor, council, and magiſtrates, was no longer regarded. Lundy reſigned all care of the city, and concealed himſelf in his own houſe. The people now choſe for themſelves two new governors, Walker, the brave eccleſiaſtic, and one major Baker, that, if one ſhould fall, the garriſon might not be without command. By theſe officers they were formed into eight regiments, amounting to ſeven thouſand and twenty men, excluſive of three hundred and forty-one officers [n].

[n] Walker's Diary.

In

In a little time their resolution becoming deliberate, they suffered the timid to depart without molestation; and Lundy, by connivance of the new governors, escaped to the ships in disguise. Every thing was now conducted with the greatest composure and regularity; each regiment, each company, had their particular station. Eighteen clergymen of the established church, and seven non-conformist teachers, chearfully shared the labours and dangers of the siege; and every day alternately assembled the people in the cathedral church, where, by the fervour of their devotions, and their animated exhortations, they inspired their hearers with enthusiastic resolution. Eleven days James continued his assaults, without any prospect of success. Impatient of disappointment, he at last left the camp, and returned to Dublin; having done nothing more in his northern expedition than reduced the fort of Culmore, which he was suspected to have atchieved by the help of money. *Siege of Londonderry.*

After the departure of James, the garrison of Derry continued to defeat all the attempts of the besiegers, and to harrass them by successful sallies; but they had the mortification to be soon threatened with more terrible enemies, disease and famine. In the midst of their distress they discovered in lake Foyle thirty ships, which they readily concluded had been sent to their relief from England. These vessels contained troops, arms, ammunition, and provisions, under the command of Kirk; but this officer possessed too little humanity to make any hazardous attempt for the relief of the garrison. He even returned to the signals of the besieged no answer which evinced any alacrity. The enemy, encouraged by his apparent irresolution, prepared to oppose his passage. On each side of the lake, where it grew narrow towards the city, they planted batteries, ranged their forces, and, from two opposite forts, they stretched across the water a boom, formed of strong timber, joined by iron chains, and strengthened by thick cables. The fleet, to which the garrison had looked for relief, now set sail and disappeared. Kirk, soon after, sent them the afflicting intelligence, that, as he found it impossible to force a passage by the river for his stores and provisions, he had sailed round to lake Swilly, with the view of making some diversion to the enemy, and sending supplies to the protestant forces collected at Enniskillen. With a coolness which rather insulted than alleviated their distress, he informed them,

that more forces were hourly expected from England; that both there and in Scotland affairs were entirely favourable to the new government; that, by the intelligence he had gained, the beſiegers could not long continue to inveſt them; and adviſing them, at the ſame time, to be good huſbands of their proviſions.

Great diſtreſs of Derry.

Famine and diſeaſe continued to make daily ravages in the garriſon; yet when numbers of them were ſcarcely able to ſupport their arms, they threatened inſtant death to any who ſhould mention a ſurrender °. While general Hamilton endeavoured to move them by perſuaſion, they reproached him with his own treachery. Roſen, who was ſent to command the ſiege, thundered out dreadful menaces againſt them; but theſe had no other effect than to confirm their reſolution. He declared, that if the town was not ſurrendered by the 1ſt day of July, all of their party, ſo far as Ballyſhannon, Charlemont, Belfaſt, and Inniſowen, ſhould be given up to plunder, and driven under their walls, there to periſh. The appointed day arrived, but the garriſon continued unmoved. On the next morning a confuſed multitude was ſeen hurrying towards the walls. They were at firſt miſtaken for enemies, and the garriſon fired on them; but happily without committing any ſlaughter. This unfortunate multitude conſiſted of thouſands of Proteſtants, of all ages and conditions, goaded on by ſoldiers, whoſe ears were tortured by their ſhrieks, and who executed their inhuman orders with tears. At the afflicting ſpectacle the garriſon was tranſported to fury: numbers of the wretched ſufferers, thus driven to periſh under their walls, conjured them in the moſt earneſt manner not to conſider their diſtreſs, but to defend their own lives bravely againſt their implacable enemies. A gallows was now erected in view of the beſiegers; and they were aſſured, that all the priſoners taken by the garriſon ſhould be inſtantly executed, unleſs their friends were allowed to depart. Confeſſors were even admitted to prepare them for death; but Roſen continued inflexible. James, however, hearing of theſe tranſactions, ordered the Proteſtants to be releaſed. Thoſe who ſurvived a confinement of almoſt three days without ſuſtenance or ſhelter, were thus permitted to return to their habitations, where the ravages of the ſoldiers had left them no means of comfort.

° Walker's Diary.

So

So invincible was the horror conceived of the beſiegers, as to overcome the moſt powerful antipathies of nature. The fleſh of horſes, dogs, and vermin, hides, tallow, and other nauſeous ſubſtances, were purchaſed for extravagant prices, and eagerly devoured by the wretched inhabitants; who, nevertheleſs, continued their obſtinate defence, and even made deſperate and ſucceſsful ſallies, though too much weakened by hunger to purſue their advantage. Every miſerable reſource, at laſt, began to fail, and no means of ſubſiſtence could be found for more than two days; but ſtill the famiſhed crowds liſtened to the exhortations of Walker; and ſtill he aſſured them from the pulpit that the Almighty would grant them a deliverance. During thoſe aſtoniſhing exertions of zeal and fortitude, they diſcovered three ſhips in the lake making way to the town. Kirk, who had abandoned them from the 13th day of June to the 30th of July, at length thought fit to make a deſperate effort to relieve them. Two ſhips laden with proviſions, and convoyed by a frigate, advanced in view both of the garriſon and the beſiegers. The enemy, from their batteries and muſketry, thundered furiouſly on the ſhips, which returned their fire with equal ſpirit. The foremoſt of the victuallers ſtruck forcibly againſt the boom, and broke it; but, rebounding with violence, ran aground. The enemy, exulting in loud acclamations, prepared to board her, while, on the crowded walls, the garriſon ſtood ſtupified by deſpair. The veſſel fired her guns, was extricated by the ſhock, and floated. Paſſing the boom, ſhe was followed by the other victuallers; and the town being thus relieved, the enemy abandoned the ſiege.

Of ſeven thouſand five hundred men regimented in Derry, little more than half the number ſurvived at this period; and of theſe more than one thouſand were incapable of ſervice. The ghaſtly objects had ſcarcely taſted food, when they had the hardineſs to march in queſt of the enemy. The latter retired in vexation to Strabane, after loſing eight thouſand men by the ſword, and by various diſeaſes, in a ſiege of one hundred and five days [h]. *The ſiege raiſed.*

During the whole courſe of this ſiege, James's army had been conſiderably embarraſſed in their operations by the Enniſkillen-men, or thoſe proteſtants who had aſſembled about Enniſkillen, choſen Guſtavus Hamilton governor of their little town, and proclaimed William and

[h] Walker's Diary.

Mary

Mary as the ſovereigns of Ireland. Lord Galway marching to reduce them, inveſted Crom-caſtle, their frontier garriſon, ſeated on lake Erne; but as he found it impracticable to bring up his cannon, he had recourſe to a ſtratagem. Eight horſes were employed to draw two pieces of tin, formed in ſhape of cylinders, and ſo coloured as to reſemble cannon. With this he threatened to batter the caſtle. The garriſon returned a defiance; and being reinforced from Enniſkillen, ſallied, and drove the enemy from their trenches, returning in triumph with a conſiderable booty, and the counterfeit cannon, which had been drawn up with ſo much appearance of difficulty. The ridicule which Galway thus incurred, was ſoon followed by general deteſtation. On his march, he had made priſoners two youths, with whom he found commiſſions from the prince of Orange. He now propoſed to exchange them for one of his own officers. The officer was returned, but the youths, in violation both of faith and humanity, were executed.

In the mean time, the numbers of the northern confederates increaſed, but they were not furniſhed with arms or ammunition until the arrival of Kirk, when they became ſo formidable, that it was propoſed to attack them by three different armies. For this purpoſe, Macarthy, a gallant and experienced officer, lately created a peer, encncamped at Belturbet with ſeven thouſand men; Sarſefield, another general of diſtinguiſhed abilities, led an army from Connaught; and the duke of Berwick prepared to attack them from the north. But, by a peculiarity of fortune, the ignorance of their danger proved the means of their deliverance. They knew only of the motions of the Connaught army. They marched out with aſtoniſhing rapidity, ſurpriſed the enemy's camp, and routed them with conſiderable ſlaughter. Againſt the duke of Berwick they had not the like ſucceſs. As he approached Enniſkillen, ſome companies which had been ſent to take poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt, venturing beyond the bounds preſcribed, were ſupriſed, and cut to pieces; but Hamilton, the governor, advancing, the duke retired.

Macarthy, after ſuppreſſing lord Inchiquin, in Munſter, marched towards Enniſkillen, and inveſted Crom. An officer was detached to the relief of the caſtle, but the enemy advancing againſt him with a ſuperior body, he was obliged to retreat. He was purſued, and a ſkirmiſh followed, which was the prelude to a general engagement between

between the main bodies on each ſide; one commanded by Macarthy, and the other by Wolſley, one of Kirk's officers. This action happened near Newtown-Butler and Lionaſkea, from both which places it has received its name. The inferior number of the Northerns was compenſated by their valour, and an abhorrence of the enemy, whom they defeated and purſued with great ſlaughter, granting quarter to none but officers. About two thouſand of the catholics were ſlain in the field, and about five hundred plunged into lake Erne. The priſoners, among whom was Macarthy, amounted to the ſame number. The news of this victory was ſoon conveyed to the army, which retired from Derry, and ſerved to precipitate their flight. *Battle of Newton-Butler.*

James had by this time returned to Dublin, where, in all the ſtate of ſovereignty, he aſſembled a parliament. In the upper houſe, a number of new popiſh lords, and ſeveral whoſe outlawries had been reverſed, gave a weight to that party; while the commons were almoſt entirely compoſed of men named by Tyrconnel. James, in a ſpeech from the throne, commended the loyalty and zeal of his Iriſh ſubjects; declared his abhorrence of violating either the rights of conſcience, or thoſe of property; and that he would readily conſent to any laws for the good of the nation. Fitton, in the upper houſe, and Nagle, ſpeaker of the commons, enlarged on this ſpeech, which was echoed by a joint addreſs; and immediately was brought in a bill, recognizing the king's title, and expreſſing an abhorrence of the prince of Orange, and his uſurpation [c]. *James aſſembles a parliament.*

In a declaration now publiſhed by James, he expreſſed his reſolution to protect the properties, privileges, and religion of his proteſtant ſubjects; but whatever might be his inclination, he was at preſent totally enſlaved by different factions. The ambaſſador, D'Avaux, affected to take the lead in his council; and James was ſervilely attentive not to afford him any pretence of complaint. All preferments in his army were given to Frenchmen, to the utter diſcontent of the Iriſh. In parliament, however, the latter, with their uſual violence, reſolved to ſeize an opportunity of providing for their own intereſts, without even the appearance of any attention to the em- *Declaration of James.*

[c] Ralph.

barraſſment of their unfortunate prince. They tumultuouſly paſſed a bill for repealing the acts of ſettlement, though nothing could render James more obnoxious to the Engliſh, than the ſuſpicion that he countenanced ſuch a meaſure, which he appears to have ſincerely diſapproved. Daly, the popiſh judge, inveighed againſt it with ſo much vehemence as to incur the cenſure of the commons, who inſiſted that he ſhould come to the bar of the houſe, and publicly beg pardon. This order, however, was remitted, on ſome falſe intelligence of the ſurrender of Derry. In the houſe of lords, the proteſtant biſhop of Meath argued againſt the bill on the principles of juſtice and policy; and this, as we are told, by the particular direction of James. Whatever unfavourable opinion he had formed of the acts of ſettlement, and however his Iriſh miniſters had repreſented to him the hardſhips their countrymen had ſuſtained from theſe acts, yet nothing could more provoke the Engliſh, even of his own party, than his appearing to countenance this bill. It is therefore natural to ſuppoſe that he muſt have expreſſed ſome diſapprobation of it. But, unfortunately for this prince, it was not only a favourite object of the Iriſh, but warmly recommended by the French ambaſſador; and their united influence was too powerful to be reſiſted. When an addreſs againſt the bill was preſented by the purchaſers under the acts of ſettlement, James coldly replied, that he could not do evil, that good might reſult from it. When ſome peers propoſed to enter their proteſt, he obſerved, that proteſts were uſual only in rebellious times.

Thus paſſed the bill for repealing the acts of ſettlement, with a preamble which exculpated the Iriſh from rebelling in the year 1641; and a clauſe by which the eſtates of all thoſe who dwelt in any of the three kingdoms, and did not acknowlege James as ſovereign, or who had aided or correſponded with his enemies, from the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1688, were declared to be forfeited and veſted in the king. In conſequence of this act, almoſt every proteſtant of Ireland who could write was to be deprived of his eſtate. They, at the ſame time, reſolved on a proſcription, which tended to inflame the prejudice of James's enemies. An act was paſſed, by which a number of perſons in the ſervice of the prince of Orange, thoſe who had retired from the kingdom, and did not return in obedience

dience to the king's proclamation, numbers who were resident in Britain, and therefore presumed to be adherents to the new government, were all attainted of high treason, and adjudged to suffer the pains of death and forfeiture, unless they should surrender within a limited time. It was provided, that the estates even of those who were detained abroad by sickness, or nonage, should be seized by the king; and, to add to the violence of this procedure, they were obliged to prove their own innocence before they could be restored. Two thousand four hundred and sixty-one persons, of all orders and conditions, were included in this arbitrary sentence; which was likewise so framed, as to preclude the king from all power of pardoning, after the 1st day of November, 1689. In a few instances, James had the resolution to adhere to such measures as he knew would be acceptable to the English. He opposed and defeated a bill for the repeal of Poynings' law; nor would he consent to establish inns of court in Ireland for the education of young lawyers; a point so long and so ardently pursued by the Irish catholics.

Of the other acts passed in this assembly, the more remarkable were a supplement to the bill of attainder, by which the personal estates of absentees were vested in the king; one declaring that the parliament of England cannot bind Ireland; and against writs of error and appeals to England; one for liberty of conscience; another which abolished the provision formerly made for ministers in towns corporate; and one for entitling the Romish clergy to all tythes and ecclesiastical emoluments payable by those of their own communion.

The parliament had granted James a monthly subsidy of twenty thousand pounds to be levied from lands; but this tax, however grievous, was insufficient for his purposes. Unable to obtain money from France, he, during the continuance of the parliament, issued a proclamation, by virtue of his prerogative, imposing an equivalent tax on all chattels. Some of his council ventured to remonstrate against this arbitrary proceeding; but without effect. "If I cannot do this, said he, I can do nothing."

Arbitrary conduct of James.

James, in his present exigence, had recourse to a violent expedient, which greatly exasperated the Irish protestants. Seizing the tools and engines of one Moore, who, by virtue of a patent of the late king, enjoyed the

right of a copper-coinage in Ireland, he eſtabliſhed a mint in Dublin and Limerick [d]. To theſe places were carried braſs and copper of the baſeſt kind, old cannon, broken bells, and houſhold utenſils; and from every pound weight of thoſe materials, valued at four pence, pieces were coined and circulated to the amount of five pounds in nominal value. By the firſt proclamation, they were made current in all payments between the king and the ſubjects of the realm, except in the duties on exportation of foreign goods, money left in truſt, or due by mortgages, bills, or bonds; and James promiſed, that, when this money ſhould be decried, he would receive it in all payments, or make full ſatisfaction in gold and ſilver. His ſoldiers were now paid in this coin. The nominal value was raiſed by ſubſequent proclamations; the original reſtrictions were removed; and this baſe money was ordered to be received in all kinds of payments. As braſs and copper became ſcarce, the coin was made of tin and pewter. It was obtruded on proteſtants with circumſtances of the moſt flagrant injuſtice. Old debts of one thouſand pounds were diſcharged by pieces of baſe metal, of the intrinſic value of thirty ſhillings. Attempts were made to purchaſe gold and ſilver at immoderate rates with the braſs money; but this was quickly forbidden on pain of death; and when proteſtants attempted to convert this coin into the ſtaple commodities of the kingdom, James, by proclamation, ſet a rate on theſe commodities, demanded them at his own valuation, obliged the proprietors to accept his baſe coin in return, and, with all the meanneſs of a trader, exported his purchaſe to France.

In the midſt of public diſorder, and of all the dangers which threatened James, he was implicitly reſigned to the councils of the popiſh clergy for extending their religion. A ſchool erected at Kilkenny by the duke of Ormond was converted into a popiſh ſeminary by a new charter. In a few months after his arrival in Ireland, a mandamus was preſented to the governors of the univerſity of Dublin, in favour of Green, who had formerly been diſappointed of his profeſſorſhip. He was now deſtined to another office, that of ſenior fellow of Trinity-College. Though the ſevereſt vengeance was denounced againſt them in caſe of non-compliance, the governors boldly

[d] Simon on Iriſh Coins.

refuſe

refuſed obedience to the mandamus. They pleaded their own cauſe before ſir Richard Nagle; urging, at the ſame time, both the incapacity of Green, and the falſe allegations of his petition. The iſſue of this unequal conteſt was ſpeedy and deciſive. In a few days, the fellows and ſcholars were forcibly ejected by James's ſoldiers; the property of particular members, the communion-plate, library, and furniture of the community, were all ſeized; their chapel was converted into a magazine, and their chambers into priſons. The members of the ſociety obtained their perſonal liberty only by the interceſſion of the biſhop of Meath; and this, on the expreſs condition, that three of them ſhould not meet together on the pain of death. [m].

The greater part of the proteſtant clergy was by this time deprived of ſubſiſtence. They could recover no dues from non-conformiſts, who, by the late act for liberty of conſcience, were exempted from the juriſdiction of the eccleſiaſtical courts. They could demand no tythes from the numerous body of Roman catholics; while popiſh incumbents, who every day multiplied by the death or reſignation of proteſtants, exacted them from all parties. The zeal of the proteſtants, however, was not diminiſhed by theſe diſcouragement; but both the clergy and laity crowded to their places of worſhip. The popiſh government was not ſlow in ſuppreſſing thoſe meetings. A proclamation was iſſued, confining proteſtants to their reſpective pariſhes; a meaſure which, in effect, excluded great numbers from public worſhip, as, in ſeveral parts of Ireland, two pariſhes or more had but one church. But the popiſh clergy were deſirous of enforcing their religion by more violent meaſures. With the aſſiſtance of magiſtrates, they ſeized churches for their own uſe, both in the country and the capital. The proteſtants remonſtrated to James againſt theſe proceedings: he acknowleged his promiſe of protecting them, and publiſhed a proclamation againſt theſe outrages; but the clergy and their votaries refuſed obedience to whatever oppoſed the propagation of the catholic faith. A conteſt now aroſe between James and the prieſts, in which the former had the mortification of being foiled, and of ſeeing his authority treated with a contemptuous diſregard in all eccleſiaſtical affairs. But, whatever

[m] Mem. of Ireland.

reſentment this unhappy prince expreſſed againſt the inſolence of the clergy, he continued to reſign himſelf with a ſervile compliance to their counſels; and his principal ſolicitude ſeemed to be, to render Ireland a catholic kingdom. An order was iſſued in the name of his governor of Dublin, that no more than five proteſtants ſhould meet together, even in churches, on pain of death; the alarm of an invaſion indeed was pleaded for this ſeverity, which, however, was but too congenial to the bigotted principles of James.

During this time, it was ſcarcely poſſible for William to proceed in the ſervice of Ireland with neceſſary vigour. The Engliſh forces, if it might be deemed ſafe to employ them againſt the abdicated king, could not be ſpared: New levies were ordered, and ſpeedily completed; but the arms of the Tower having been embezzled, it was neceſſary to ſeek for a ſupply from Holland; nor could money be eaſily raiſed for ſuch ſervice upon parliamentary grants. In the mean time, the neglect of Ireland became a ſubject of popular complaint; and it was, at length, determined to ſend hither a body of forces. The levies for the ſervice of this kingdom conſiſted of eighteen regiments of foot, and five of horſe; but both officers and ſoldiers were unexperienced in war. The chief command was aſſigned to the duke of Schomberg, who, after long detention, ſet ſail on the 12th of Auguſt, with about ten thouſand of his forces, and part of the artillery. On the next day he appeared in the bay of Carricfergus, and landed near Bangor, in the county of Downe.

Schomberg arrives in Ireland with an army.

The garriſons of Belfaſt and Antrim retired at his firſt appearance, ſome to Liſburne, but moſt to Carricfergus, as the place of greateſt ſtrength. To the latter of theſe he marched to lay ſiege with a conſiderable force. On the approach of his army, the garriſon parleyed; demanding liberty to ſend to king James for ſuccours, or for leave to ſurrender. The demand was ſcornfully rejected, and the ſiege carried on in form, while ſix ſhips battered the town from the ſea. The garriſon next required to march out with the honours of war: Schomberg inſiſted on making them priſoners; but, at laſt, allowed them to march with their arms and ſome baggage, and to be conducted to the next garriſon. His ſoldiers murmured at this indulgence; and ſuch was the antipathy of the Ulſter-Scots to theſe men, both from religious and political conſiderations, that, without regard to faith,

Carricfergus ſurrenders.

they

they fell furiouſly upon the garriſon, wreſted from them their arms, and were reſtrained from murder only by the vigorous interpoſition of the general [h].

Schomberg's army, now augmented from England, advanced to Liſburne, Hillſborough, Dromore, and Loughbrickland, through a deſolated country. The proteſtants had abandoned it on the firſt commotions of the North, and now the popiſh inhabitants fled precipitately with all their cattle and effects. The Iriſh garriſon of Sligo alſo took to flight on a falſe alarm of danger. In their retreat, they burnt down Newry and Carlingford. Schomberg, by a trumpet, threatened to give no quarter, ſhould the enemy continue theſe violences. They abandoned Dundalk, without injuring the town; and hither the Engliſh army advanced.

So high was the opinion which James's officers formed of Schomberg and his army, that they entertained little hope of oppoſing him, and, it was ſaid, had even reſolved not only to abandon their ſtation at Drogheda, but to retire from Dublin. Tyrconnel had the honour of diverting them from a reſolution ſo inglorious. He haſtened to the main army at Drogheda, conſiſting of about eight or ten thouſand, and aſſured them of an immediate reinforcement of twenty thouſand more. Theſe ſuccours accordingly ſoon arrived; and it was, therefore, finally reſolved to maintain their preſent ſtation.

The country through which Schomberg had hitherto marched, was full of bogs and mountains, where the enemy's cavalry could not annoy him. That which now lay before him was plain and open, where the ſuperior numbers of the Iriſh could eaſily ſurround his army, and cut off all communication with their ſhips, and their northern friends. The fleet, on which he depended for artillery and proviſions, had not yet arrived at Carlingford. Several of his undiſciplined troops had already ſunk under the joint ſeverities of fatiguing marches and a rigorous ſeaſon; and many of them lay languiſhing on the roads. In ſuch circumſtances, Schomberg deemed it imprudent to advance. Mareſchal Roſen immediately drew his forces towards Dundalk, while the duke fortified his camp againſt any attack of the enemy. In this confined and unwholeſome ſtation, with a ſcarcity of all neceſſaries, his ſoldiers ſoon became ſickly. In the mean time, the enemy approached. One party was detached to ſeize a

[h] Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

pass at Newry, so as to fall on the rear of the English; but, on the first appearance of opposition, retreated to Sligo. Another presented itself before the camp, but, at the sight of some cavalry, retired to the main body. The whole army, with James at its head, was then drawn out, and displayed the royal standard. Though they advanced towards Schomberg, he continued in the belief that they had no intention of coming to any engagement. At last, they seemed determined to storm his camp. The duke now dispatched orders to his cavalry to return, on an appointed signal, from foraging, and the foot were commanded to stand to their arms. These orders were so generally received with joy, that even the sickly and languid seized their muskets in confidence of victory, and were only solicitous to be relieved from their present distress. But at the moment when an engagement seemed inevitable, James drew off his forces to Ardee. His army affected astonishment and vexation at this retreat; and, as if the storming Schomberg's camp were an enterprize of no danger, they imputed his irresolution to a mistaken tenderness for his English subjects. The latter, on the other hand, suspected that the enemy's motions had been intended only to countenance a conspiracy formed by some French papists to betray the camp. Next day the design was discovered; the principal accomplices were executed, and a number of popish soldiers disarmed, and transported to Holland.

Sickness, in the mean time, continued to make great progress in the unwholesome camp of Schomberg; while the enemy, who lay on firmer and more elevated ground, insulted their calamities. But themselves were soon overtaken by the same disasters, and their numbers were equally diminished.

Great distress of Schomberg's army.

While they prepared to retire to winter-quarters, Schomberg was reinforced by some regiments from England and Scotland. To prevent these troops from catching the infection, and to preserve the remains of his army, he resolved to abandon his fatal station, and, for the present, pitched a new camp beyond the town. The sick were ordered on board the ships; but these proving insufficient for the purpose, waggons were provided to convey the rest to Belfast. Some expired on their first attempt to remove; the officers were employed in attendance on the sick; and the humane general, at the age of fourscore years, during the violence of a tempestuous season, stood for hours at the bridge of Dundalk, directing

ing every means for alleviating the miſeries of his men. Notwithſtanding the utmoſt care and aſſiduity, numbers died, and the roads were ſtrewed with their carcaſſes. It was now time for Schomberg to diſpoſe of that part of his army which remained in the northern towns. Hither, therefore, he retired, and his ſoldiers conveyed with them the un-extinguiſhed infection of their camp [p].

In England, the people had formed the moſt ſanguine expectations of ſucceſs from the military reputation of the duke of Schomberg. So much were his diſtreſſes concealed from them, that they had been aſſured his camp was in a flouriſhing condition; but when, inſtead of reducing Ireland, they learned that he was entrenching himſelf againſt an enemy whom they long had been taught to deſpiſe, their pride was exaſperated; and all the factious part of the nation embraced the opportunity of exclaiming in the ſevereſt terms againſt the conduct of the king's miniſters. From the commencement of the war in Ireland, the Engliſh commons affected to conſider this country with the greater attention, as it was apparently neglected by William. They accordingly ſtudied means for relieving thoſe proteſtants who fled from Ireland. The artificers of that kingdom were permitted to trade in Engliſh corporations; their clergy to hold benefices in England conſiſtently with their Iriſh preferments, until theſe ſhould be recovered; their gentry they recommended to be ſupplied from the eſtates of thoſe who were in arms againſt the preſent government. Enraged at repeated intelligence of the diſtreſs ſuſtained by the brave garriſon of Derry, they enquired into the delays and miſconduct in the ſervice of Ireland; and when the king heſitated to communicate the minute-books of that committee of the privy-council which managed the affairs of this kingdom, they paſſed a reſolution, importing, that his adviſers were enemies to the king and kingdom. Having at length obtained the minute-books, and found them inſufficient for their ſatisfaction, they proceeded to examine witneſſes; they enquired with particular attention into the conduct of Lundy, now a priſoner in the Tower, and they addreſſed the king that he might be ſent to Derry, to be tried by a court-martial.

In the midſt of this ferment, George Walker arrived in London, with an addreſs to the king from the inhabitants of Derry. He was received with every mark of cor-

[p] Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

diality

diality, and preſented with five thouſand pounds. The city of London invited him to an entertainment; the populace followed him every where with acclamations. When he petitioned the houſe of commons for ſome relief for the widows and orphans of thoſe who periſhed in the defence of Derry, and for the clergy of that city, they addreſſed the king to diſtribute ten thouſand pounds for this purpoſe. They conſulted him on the ſtate of affairs in Ireland; and being now more exaſperated by the event of Schomberg's expedition, they greedily received the information, that the duke's misfortunes aroſe entirely from the miſconduct of one Shales, purveyor to the army, by whoſe means the army was left in want of artillery horſes, carriages, bread, forage, and medicines. Upon this intelligence, the commons multiplied addreſſes to the throne. They firſt deſired, that perſons might be ſent into Ireland, to take account of the numbers and condition of the army; and then, that the king ſhould order Shales into cuſtody; but the latter of theſe requeſts had been previouſly carried into execution. The houſe farther deſired, that his majeſty would inform them by whoſe advice Shales had been employed. To this queſtion the king declared, that he could return no anſwer; but, at the ſame time, to allay the reſentment of the houſe, which pointed directly at his miniſters, he propoſed that the commons ſhould nominate commiſſioners to ſuperintend all preparations neceſſary for the defence of Ireland. Though their animoſity received a temporary abatement by the condeſcenſion of the king, it was not extinguiſhed. They ſoon remonſtrated with freſh violence againſt miſcarriages in the army, the fleet, and in Ireland; and reſolved that the king ſhould be addreſſed to take theſe into conſideration, to find out the authors, and to entruſt the management of affairs to perſons in whom the nation could place greater confidence.

William, at laſt, reſolved to undertake the war of Ireland in perſon; and the firſt report of this deſign was a conſiderable encouragement to the Engliſh army in Ulſter.

Seven thouſand Danes arrive in Ireland.

In the mean time, cloaths, arms, ammunition, and proviſions, arrived from England; and ſeven thouſand well-appointed auxiliaries from Denmark landed at Belfaſt, under the command of the prince of Wirtemberg. Schomberg, whoſe troops had now recovered ſome degree of vigour, was employed in furniſhing his frontier-garriſons

sons with stores; nor was James less assiduous in forming magazines, and preparing for the campaign. He had formerly, it was said, expressed a resolution of trusting to his own subjects for success; but he now accepted five thousand French troops, under the conduct of count Lauzun, in exchange for an equal number of Irish transported to France. This measure, however, was not attended with the advantage which had been expected; and James had the mortification to find his new auxiliaries extremely refractory. They acknowleged no superior but Lauzun, who, attending only to the interest of his troops, considered himself as in an enemy's country, and lived at free quarter.

James exchanges some Irish for French troops.

A trivial incident served to increase the mortification of this unhappy prince. The only frigate he yet retained of the royal fleet lay in the bay of Dublin, ready to convey to France some small vessels laden with various goods, for which he had obtruded his brass coin on the proprietors. A firing being heard from sea, James flattered himself that it was occasioned by some of his English subjects returning to their allegiance. The strand was quickly covered with a multitude of the citizens; while James himself rode to the shore, at the head of his guards, and, to his great disappointment, became a spectator of the gallantry of sir Cloudesly Shovel, who had sailed with a few ships from Belfast, and now, after some resistance, took the frigate, with the whole convoy.

But James, however mortified at this incident, was more sensibly afflicted with the loss of Charlemont. This fort was esteemed so strong and so well provided, that Schomberg, in his progress, had not ventured to attack it. To harrass and straiten the garrison, Caillemote, a brave French officer, had been posted on the Black-water with a considerable force, in the spring. As the season advanced, the castle was more closely invested, and the governor summoned to surrender. He refused however to capitulate; and a detachment of five hundred men, sent to its relief, with a small quantity of ammunition and provision, was suffered to march in after a slight resistance. They soon found that their additional numbers would serve only to accelerate the distress with which the garrison was threatened from a scarcity of provisions; and they attempted to return, but were repulsed by the besiegers. O'Regan, the governor, incensed at the prospect of a reinforcement which must prove the destruction of the garrison, swore that they should receive no entertainment in the

the place, and that, if they would not force their way through the enemy, they should be obliged to lodge on the counterscap and dry ditch within the palisadoes. The distress both of the garrison, and of the detachment thus excluded, soon becoming intolerable, the governor at last propoſed terms of capitulation, and was allowed to march out with all the honours of war.

A.D.1690. During these transactions, several new regiments, English, Dutch, and Brandenburgers, arrived in the northern province; and the army was every day encouraged with the assurance, that William was soon to join the army.

William arrives in Ireland. At last, on the 14th day of June, he landed at Carrickfergus, amidst the acclamations of the people[b]. He was attended by prince George of Denmark, the young duke of Ormond, and several other persons of distinction. Determined on a vigorous prosecution of the war, he advanced to Lisburne and Hillsborough, where he commenced the exercise of his civil authority, by an act highly acceptable to the inhabitants of the northern province. The teachers of dissenting congregations, which abounded in this province, had acted with zeal against the cause of popery, and the late king. William issued his warrant, granting them an annual pension of twelve hundred pounds. His forces were ordered to take the field; and when some cautious counsels were suggested by his officers, he rejected them with indignation. "I came not to Ireland (said he) to let grass grow under my feet." At Loughbrickland, his whole forces assembled from their different quarters; and were joined by the king and his train. An army of thirty-six thousand men, excellently appointed, now advanced southward, to decide the fate of Ireland, while the fleet coasted slowly in view, to supply them with all necessaries[c].

James, on receiving the unexpected intelligence of William's landing, committed the guard of Dublin to a militia, under the command of Lutterel, the governor, and marched with six thousand French infantry, to join the main body of his army, which now lay near Drogheda, on the banks of the river Boyne. His numbers were about thirty-three thousand. His council of officers advised him not to hazard an engagement against superior numbers, but to maintain a defensive war, until the discontents in England should begin to operate effectually in his favour. James, however, contended for the necessity of vigorous

[b] Impartial History, &c. [c] Burnet.

mea-

measures, and expressed his satisfaction that he had at last the opportunity of one fair battle for the crown. Yet, with an ominous precaution, he dispatched sir Patrick Trant, one of his commissioners of revenue, to Waterford, to prepare a ship for conveying him to France in case of any misfortune.

On the last day of June, at the first dawn of the morning, William's army moved towards the Boyne in three columns, himself marching at the head of his advanced guard, which soon appeared within a few miles of Drogheda. Here, from the summit of a hill, he took a view of the enemy. On their right was Drogheda, filled with Irish soldiers. Eastward of the town, on the farther banks of the river, their camp extended in two lines, with a morass on the left, difficult to be passed. In their front were the fords of the Boyne, deep and dangerous, with rugged banks, defended by some breastwork, with huts and hedges, convenient to be lined with infantry. On their rear, at some distance, lay the church and village of Donore. Three miles farther was the pass of Duleek, on which they depended for a retreat.

William's army was now marching into camp, when, anxious to gain a nearer and more distinct view of the enemy, he advanced, with some officers, within musket-shot of a ford opposite to a village called Old Bridge. Here he conferred for some time on the methods of passing, and planting his batteries; and riding on still westward, he alighted, and sat down to refresh himself on a rising ground. Neither the motions of William, nor of his army, were unnoticed by the party of James. Berwick, Tyrconnel, Sarsfield, and some other generals, rode slowly along the opposite banks, and discovered the present situation of the king. A party of about forty horse immediately appeared in a plowed field, opposite to the place on which he sat. In their centre they concealed two field-pieces, which they planted, unnoticed, under cover of a hedge, and retired. William mounted his horse. At that moment the first discharge killed a man and two horses, at a little distance from the king. Another ball, which instantly followed, grazed on the banks of the river, whence it rose, and, slanting on his right shoulder, wounded him. The royal attendants crowded round in confusion. A shout of joy rung through the Irish camp that Orange was no more. It was conveyed rapidly to Dublin, and thence to Paris, where it was received in transport by Lewis, his inveterate enemy.

In the evening, William assembled his principal officers, to whom he declared his resolution of passing the river in front of the enemy. Duke Schomberg, with the caution natural to his years, endeavoured to dissuade him from this hazardous enterprize; and when he could not prevail, insisted that part of the army should be immediately detached to secure the bridge of Slane, about three miles westward of their camp, so as to flank the enemy, and to cut them off from Duleek, the pass through which they might retreat. This counsel being also treated with indifference, the duke retired in disgust, and received the order of battle in his tent, declaring, "that it was the first ever sent to him." James discovered the same inattention with William to this important pass. In his council of war, Hamilton recommended that eight regiments might be sent immediately to secure the bridge. James proposed to employ fifty dragoons in this service: the general, in astonishment, bowed, and was silent.

Battle of the Boyne.

At midnight William rode through his camp with torches, inspecting every post, and issued his final orders. Early on the succeeding morning, count Schomberg, son of the duke, with the cavalry, and Douglas with the infantry, which composed the right wing, marched towards Slane with greater alacrity than the troops sent from the other side to oppose them. They crossed the river without any opposition, except from a regiment of dragoons stationed over night at the ford. Then advancing, they found their antagonists drawn up in two lines. In forming, they mixed their horse and foot, squadron with battalion, until on the arrival of more infantry they changed their position, drawing the horse to the right, by which they considerably out-flanked the enemy. But they were to force their way through fields inclosed by deep ditches, difficult to be surmounted, especially by the horse; who, in the face of an enemy, were obliged to advance in order; beyond these lay a morass still more embarrassing. The infantry was ordered to plunge in, and, while the horse found a firm passage to the right, forced their way with fatigue and difficulty. The enemy, astonished at their intrepidity, fled instantly towards Duleek, and were pursued with great slaughter.

When it was supposed that the right wing had made good its passage, the infantry in the centre, which was commanded by duke Schomberg, was put in motion. The Dutch guards first entered the river, on the right, opposite to Old-bridge. The French Protestants and Enniskilliners,

ſkilliners, Brandenburghers and Engliſh, at their ſeveral paſſes to the left, plunged in with alacrity, while the water in ſome places roſe to their breaſts, and obliged the infantry to ſupport their arms above their heads. The Dutch, having gained the oppoſite banks, formed gradually, and drove the Iriſh from their poſts. As they continued to advance, the ſquadrons and battalions of the enemy ſuddenly appeared in view behind the eminences which had concealed them. Five of theſe battalions bore down upon thoſe Dutch who had already paſſed, but were received firmly, and repulſed. The efforts of the Iriſh horſe were equally unſucceſsful. Two attacks were bravely repelled, when the French and Enniſkilliners arrived to the ſupport of the Dutch, and drove back a third body of horſe with conſiderable execution.

Meanwhile, general Hamilton led the Iriſh infantry to the very margin of the river, to oppoſe the paſſage of the French and Engliſh; but the men ſhrunk from the danger. Their cavalry proved more ſpirited. A ſquadron of Danes was attacked with ſuch intrepidity, that they fled back through the river. The Iriſh horſe purſued; and, on their return, fell furiouſly on the French huguenots, who had no pikes to ſuſtain their ſhock, and were inſtantly broken. The duke of Schomberg, who had waited to ſupport his friends on any dangerous emergency, now ruſhed through the river, and placed himſelf at the head of the huguenot forces, who were deprived of their brave leader, Caillemote. The Iriſh horſe who had broken the French Proteſtants, wheeled through Old-bridge, in order to join their main body; but were here cut down by the Dutch and Enniſkilliners. About ſixteen of their ſquadron eſcaped, and returning furiouſly from the ſlaughter of their companions, were miſtaken by the huguenots for ſome of their own friends, and ſuffered to paſs: they wounded Schomberg in the head, and were hurrying him forward, when he was killed by a ſhot from his own men. *Duke of Schomberg killed.* About the ſame time, Walker of Londonderry, whoſe paſſion for military glory had impelled into this engagement, received a wound, of which he inſtantly expired.

After an inceſſant firing of an hour, there enſued ſome reſpite on both ſides. The Iriſh retreated towards Donore, where James ſtood during the engagement, ſurrounded by his guards; and here, drawing up in good order, once more advanced. William, at the head of the Dutch, Daniſh, and Engliſh cavalry, which compoſed the right wing of his army, had now croſſed the river, through

a dangerous and difficult paſs, where his horſe flounder-ing in the mud, obliged him to diſmount, and accept the aſſiſtance of his attendants. When the enemy had advanced almoſt within muſket-ſhot of his infantry, he was ſeen with his ſword drawn, animating his ſquadrons, and preparing to fall on their flank. They halted, and again retreated to Donore; where, facing about vigorouſly, they charged with ſuch ſucceſs, that the Engliſh cavalry, though led on by their king, was forced from their ground. The battle, however, was ſtill maintained with ardour, and with variety of fortune. The king conſtantly mingled in the hotteſt part of the engagement, where his preſence gave double vigour to his ſoldiers. The Iriſh infantry was finally repulſed. Hamilton, at the head of his horſe, made one deſperate effort to turn the fortune of the day; but, though their ſhock was furious, they were routed, and their general conveyed a priſoner to William [a].

While the right wing of William's army, which had forced its way through difficult grounds, purſued the enemy cloſe to Duleek, Lauzun rode up to James, who ſtill continued at Donore, and adviſed him to retreat immediately, as he was in danger of being ſurrounded. He marched to Duleek at the head of Sarsfield's regiment, and was followed by his army, which poured through the paſs, not without ſome annoyance from a party of Engliſh dragoons. When they reached the open ground, they drew up, and cannonaded their purſuers. Their loſs in this engagement was computed at fifteen hundred; that of William's army ſcarcely amounted to one third of this number [b].

James arrives at Dublin.

The conteſt for the crown was finally determined by this battle. James arrived at Dublin in great diſorder, and damped the joy of his friends, who, ſince the intelligence of William's death, were every hour in expectation of receiving him in triumph. He aſſembled the popiſh magiſtrates and council of the city; telling them that in England his army had deſerted him; in Ireland, they had meanly fled from the enemy; and that nothing, therefore, now remained, but that he and they ſhould ſhift for themſelves. It had been deliberated, whether, in caſe of ſuch a misfortune, Dublin ſhould not be ſet on fire? but he charged them, on their allegiance, to commit no ſuch deſperate act, the barbarity of which would not only reflect diſhonour on him, but exaſperate the con-

[a] Burnet. [b] Ibid. Harris's Life of William.

queror.

queror. Though obliged to submit to superior power, he assured them he would never cease to labour for their deliverance. Too much blood, he observed, had been already shed; and Providence seemed to declare against him: he therefore advised them to set their prisoners at liberty, and submit to the prince of Orange, who was merciful. The reflexion on the courage of the Irish troops, provoked the officers to retort it on the king, who, they said, while William shared the danger of his army, stood at secure distance, an idle spectator of a contest, in which they, though not animated by his presence, had maintained his cause with unimpeachable valour. In the warmth of resentment, they exclaimed, "Exchange kings, and we will once more fight the battle." Their indignation was increased, when they saw him fly precipitately to Waterford, breaking down the bridges to prevent a pursuit, and instantly embark for France. *and embarks for France.*

Though James had now abandoned the Irish, yet the interests of their religion were involved in his cause; nor had they any hopes either of recovering the possessions of their ancestors, or securing those which they still retained, but by contending against the new government. Most of his army marched through Dublin, bending their course to Limerick and Athlone. The metropolis was now threatened with all the evils of anarchy. The protestant prisoners, who were set free, breathed nothing but revenge against their persecutors, and seemed ready for the most terrible outrage; when one Fitzgerald, a military officer, had the address to dissuade them from their violent designs. He assumed the government of the city, and sent to king William, requesting immediate assistance. At last, after some outrages had been committed in the city, he received nine troops of horse, which were afterwards reinforced by the Dutch guards. William, in the mean time, continued to advance slowly, and encamped at Finglass, a village within two miles of the capital; which entering, to give thanks, in the cathedral church of St. Patrick, for his victory, he returned immediately to his camp. He now published a declaration, calculated to detach the lower order of subjects from their leaders. He promised pardon and protection to all who remained at home, or should return to their dwellings, and surrender their arms. He commanded all tenants of protestant subjects to pay their rents to their respective landlords, and that the tenants of those who were concerned in rebellion should detain their rents, until the commissioners of his revenue should sig-

nify to whom they were to be paid. As to the leaders of the rebellion, he declared his resolution of leaving them to the event of war. William's English adherents, being impatient for forfeitures, were gratified by a commission issued for seizing all such as accrued to the crown by the rebellion, though no courts of judicature were now opened for proceeding regularly in the business. This measure served only to confirm the Irish in their aversion to the new government; and they therefore prepared to renew the war with the utmost animosity. In eight days after his victory at the Boyne, William resolved to divide his army; and, while himself marched southward, he detached Douglas, one of his generals, to reduce Athlone. William, receiving intelligence of Tourville's success over the united fleets of England and Holland, hastened his march. Wexford had already declared for him, and now received his garrison: Clonmel was abandoned by the Irish. Waterford was summoned; the garrison, after some hesitation, demanded the enjoyment of their estates, the freedom of their religion, and liberty to march out with arms and baggage. The last article only was admitted; but upon this they surrendered. Duncannon, at first, threatened greater resistance; but, on the appearance of sir Cloudesly Shovel with sixteen frigates, the governor accepted the same conditions with Waterford.

Several forts surrender to William.

Douglas, in the mean time, proceeded in his expedition to Athlone. He marched as through an enemy's country; his men plundering, and even murdering with impunity, in defiance of the royal proclamation, and the express orders of their general. The army, become odious by its outrages, at length appeared before Athlone. To the summons sent by Douglas, the governor, whose name was Grace, returned a passionate defiance. Firing a pistol at the messenger, "These," said he, "are my terms." His garrison consisted of three regiments of foot nine troops of dragoons, and two of horse, with a large body encamped at a small distance to support them; all violently exasperated against the besiegers, and encouraged by false rumours of William's death, and of insurrection and invasions in England. The governor, deeming that part of Athlone which lay on the eastern side of the Shannon, to be indefensible, set fire to it, and broke the bridge, resolving to maintain the Irish district on the west. He also raised some fortifications, and mounted two batteries, beside those of the castle. Douglas commenced his operations by playing on the castle from

from a battery of six guns, but without any considerable effect. At last, after several disasters, he formed the resolution of retiring. He decamped at midnight, unmolested; and, in his terror of the enemy, marched by difficult roads to join the royal army. The protestant inhabitants of the country near Athlone, who had enjoyed the benefit of Irish protections, were thus exposed to the utmost severities from the troops of the garrison, by having, on the approach of the besiegers, declared in favour of the English. Abandoning, therefore, their habitations and their harvests, they were forced to attend the retreating army, which made a prey of the miserable pittance of provisions the unfortunate emigrants had carried with them [c].

Douglas found the king advancing to Limerick, the great feat of the Irish force, and of which he was determined, if possible, to make himself master. On the 9th day of August, William began his approaches to the town, through grounds intersected with ditches, and hedges lined with Irish infantry, who retreated gradually as the pioneers levelled the inclosures, until they came to a narrow and encumbered pass between two bogs, terminated by an old fort built by Ireton, and communicating with the town by three different lanes. Of these the broadest was occupied by the Irish horse, while their musketeers were drawn up under cover of the hedges on the right and left. As William's army advanced in order, two field-pices were so planted as to bear upon the enemy's horse; who, after some discharges, were forced from the ground, while the infantry were driven under the walls. Ireton's fort, and another advantageous post, were gained without resistance, and immediately mounted with field-pieces to annoy the town and outworks. William, encouraged by this success, encamped within cannon-shot of the walls, without the usual precautions for security; and, before his artillery arrived, summoned the governor to surrender. Boileau, who would not give William the royal titles, addressed his answer not to the king, but to sir Robert Southwell, the secretary. In it he expressed his surprise at the summons, and declared his resolution of meriting the good opinion of the prince of Orange, by a vigorous defence of the place intrusted to him by his majesty. William, in the mean time, was assured that this spirited answer by no means corresponded with the

Siege of Limerick.

[c] Mem. of Ireland.

ſentiments of the garriſon, who were reſtrained from an immediate ſubmiſſion only by the remonſtrances of the governor, the duke of Berwick, and Sarsfield. The more to animate the king's hopes, Ginckle, his Dutch general, gained a ford about three miles from the town, which the enemy abandoned at his approach, and where a ſtrong detachment was now poſted on each ſide of the river.

In the meanwhile, the garriſon prepared for a vigorous defence; and learning from a French deſerter the ſituation of the king's tent, directed towards it all the fury of their artillery; ſo that William found it neceſſary to remove. Being likewiſe informed of the train which the enemy expected from Dublin, its route, and the number of its convoy, the enterpriſing ſpirit of Sarsfield was inflamed with the deſire of intercepting it; reſolved, if he ſhould fail in this laſt effort, to abandon the hopeleſs cauſe of his countrymen, and retire to France. With a party of choſen cavalry, he croſſed the Shannon at Killaloe, about twelve miles above the Engliſh camp, and waited in the mountains the approach of the artillery and its eſcort. The march of ſo diſtinguiſhed an officer on a ſecret expedition was ſoon communicated to the enemy, who received it at firſt with indifference; but coming to the knowlege of William, he ordered ſir John Lanier to march with five hundred horſe, and meet the train. Lanier executed his orders, but not with due alacrity. In the mean time, the artillery advanced within ſeven miles to the rear of the Engliſh camp. The officer who commanded the convoy, apprehending no danger at ſo ſmall a diſtance from the army, encamped looſely on a plain, without the neceſſary precaution. While the main body of the convoy lay in an unguarded ſituation, Sarsfield ruſhed furiouſly upon them, and ſlaughtered or diſperſed the whole party. He then collected the cannon, carriages, waggons, and ammunition. Filling the firſt with powder, he fixed their mouths in the ground, and laying a train to the heap, fired it on his retreat. Lanier and his party, alarmed, but too late, by the hideous exploſion, arrived in view of the enemy's rear, and made an attempt to intercept them; but the attempt proved as abortive as it was now unimportant, and Sarsfield returned triumphantly to Limerick.

The news of this diſaſter was no ſooner known in the Engliſh camp than it excited univerſal commotion. By ſome it was imputed to the neglect of lord Portland and count Solmes; and by others to the ſecret diſaffection

f Lanier, who had formerly been a favourite of king ames. William alone maintained a compoſure, ſo unccountable to his ſoldiers, that they ſuſpected him of aving no real deſign to conclude the war, but only to eep the enemy cantoned about Limerick, and to preſerve he conqueſts he had already made. But it was obviouſly is intereſt to complete the reduction of Ireland without elay. With two of his cannon, which had eſcaped the te havock, and ſome others brought from Waterford, he rniſhed his batteries, and renewed his operations with gour. The beſieged, on their part, defended themſelves ke men whoſe intereſts were to be decided by one final fort. During the ſpace of a week, the aſſault and the efence were maintained with equal ſpirit; and William, ho took an active part in every operation, was frequently xpoſed to danger. At laſt, on the 27th, a breach being ade twelve yards in length, the king ordered the counrſcarp, and two towers on each ſide of the breach, to be aſſaulted. Five hundred of the grenadiers in the fartheſt ngle of the trenches leaped over, and running towards e counterſcarp, were furiouſly oppoſed; but, in the idſt of a tremendous fire, diſlodged the enemy, and urſuing even to the breach, many were actually in the wn, while the Iriſh ran from the walls in confuſion. he regiments appointed to ſecond them ſtopped at the unterſcarp, agreeably to their orders. Many of the oops whoſe ardour had hurried them within the walls, ere now killed by the enemy, and almoſt all wounded. he Iriſh again marched to the breach, and defended it ith redoubled valour. Even the women joined in the neral enthuſiaſm, defied the beſiegers, and aſſailed them ith ſtones. During three hours an inceſſant diſcharge great and ſmall arms was maintained on each ſide. ne regiment of Brandenburghers ſeized a battery; but e powder catching fire, they were almoſt all blown into e air. The breach was ſtill defended with obſtinacy: here the walls were entire, the beſiegers, who had no aling-ladders, waſted their fire to no purpoſe, and were poſed defenceleſs to all the fury of the enemy. Five ndred of their number were ſlain, and more than one ouſand deſperately wounded, when William at length lered a retreat. Next morning a drummer was ſent o the town, to demand a truce for the purpoſe of bury- the dead; but it was haughtily refuſed by the gornor. The Engliſh army, ſtill undiſmayed, was impant for another aſſault; but the ſeaſon advancing, when

heavy rains were expected, which might render the roads impassible to the artillery, the king determined to raise the siege. He therefore ordered the batteries to be disarmed, and his forces retired without any molestation from the garrison.

William embarks for England.

This terminated the period of William's personal enterprizes in Ireland. Leaving the command of his forces to count Solmes and Ginckle, and committing the civil government to lords-justices, he proceeded to Waterford, and, with prince George, the duke of Ormond, and other attendants, embarked at Duncannon-fort for England [d].

Earl of Marlborough arrives in Ireland.

The earl of Marlborough, who seems to have become obnoxious to the king, by the part which he and his consort had taken in the quarrel with the princess of Denmark, had continued some time unemployed; and, being impatient of his inactivity, formed a project for recovering the royal favour. He represented to William the importance of Cork and Kinsale, and engaged to reduce these towns, with five thousand forces which lay in England ready for any service, and such reinforcements as might be spared in Ireland. The proposal was accepted, and the embarkation prepared at Portsmouth, while William yet lay before Limerick. On the 29th day of September the earl arrived in Cork road, where he drove the enemy from a battery, and landed without any farther opposition. Ginckle, on whom the chief command devolved by the departure of count Solmes, detached to his assistance nine hundred cavalry, which were soon followed by four thousand foot under the prince of Wirtemberg, whose conduct threatened to defeat the whole enterprize. He claimed the chief command by virtue of his superior rank; while Marlborough, on the other hand, insisted on the priority of his commission, and that the prince's troops were merely auxiliaries. The dispute grew warm and alarming, but, by the interposition of la Mellionere, a prudent French officer, was at length accommodated; the earl being persuaded to share the command with his rival.

Siege of Cork,

The siege was now carried on, but not without some farther contest between these generals. The garrison gradually abandoned their works; a breach was made in the wall, and the besiegers prepared for an assault. When for this purpose, they were on the point of crossing a marsh at low water, the governor parleyed, and proposed terms of capitulation. Marlborough, who had now the

[d] Memoirs of Ireland.

command

command, insisted that the garrison should become prisoners of war. Wirtemberg contended for granting more moderate terms. The dispute continued until the tide returned; when the governor, imagining all danger was over, broke off the conference. The generals were provoked at this behaviour, and the breach was enlarged. The Dutch and English, encouraged by the duke of Grafton and other volunteers, bravely passed the river, wading to their shoulders, exposed to the enemy's fire, and posted themselves under the bank of a marsh, which served as a counterscarp to the city-wall. The duke of Grafton, to the regret of the whole army, was borne away mortally wounded, while the troops prepared for a general assault. But now the garrison, whose ammunition was exhausted, renewed the parley, and consented to become prisoners of war. The protestant prisoners were set at liberty; the protestant magistrates resumed their offices, and proclaimed the king and queen. All Papists were ordered, on pain of death, to surrender their arms.

which surrenders.

Cork had no sooner surrendered than Marlborough sent a detachment to summon Kinsale; but the governor returned a scornful answer, and threatened to put the messenger to death. The town itself, however, was scarcely tenable: he therefore set it on fire, and placed his reliance on the two forts, the old and the new. The former was taken after a brave resistance, in which the governor, several officers, and half the garrison, were slain; the other, in ten days, was also reduced to capitulate.

Kinsale reduced.

In the mean time, the French, who had come over to the assistance of James, were recalled to their own country; but not before their insolence had rendered them extremely obnoxious to their Irish confederates. The latter, under the command of Sarsfield, now resolved to exert their native strength with double vigour. Transported by their defence of Limerick, they talked wildly of crossing the Shannon, piercing through Leinster, and setting fire to the capital. As their necessities might drive them to some desperate excursions, Ginckle still kept his forces posted in different parts about the Shannon, ready to oppose any sudden attempts. But on the reduction of Cork and Kinsale, he ventured to draw his troops into winter-quarters.

The security, however, with which he had flattered himself proved prejudicial. The Irish, inured to the severity of the winter, acquainted with every road, and impelled both by necessity and revenge, made successful ex-

Great disorders in Ireland.

curſions, in which they ſurpriſed his ſmaller parties, and ſpread general conſternation by their ravages. The contending armies were equally diſtreſſed; and, to aggravate the miſeries occaſioned by a rapacious ſoldiery, the country ſwarmed with robbers and murderers, who lived in utter defiance of legal authority. For ſuppreſſing theſe outrages, the lords-juſtices laboured to give form to the civil government. All indictments of high-treaſon were removed to the ſuperior courts, now furniſhed with judges. Lords-lieutenants, and deputy-lieutenants, were appointed to the ſeveral counties, ſubject to the Engliſh power. The commiſſion of forfeitures was ſuperſeded, and a variety of proclamations publiſhed, to regulate commerce, to reſtrain the turbulent, and to promote the public peace. It was ordained, that Papiſts of every county ſhould be reſponſible for the ravages committed by thoſe of their communion; and that where any number of Rapparees (a name given to the banditti, from that of the weapon which they uſed) were collected, no popiſh prieſt ſhould be ſuffered to reſide. Some attempts were alſo made to correct the diſorders of the army; but the officers treated the civil power with diſregard, and the ſoldiers acknowleged no ſuperiors but their officers. Several of theſe were ſuſpected of ſecret reluctance to a termination of the preſent war; an event which might call them to a ſeverer ſervice, and againſt a more dangerous enemy. Ginckle, however, appeared to be actuated with a ſincere deſire of putting an end to the public calamities by a vigorous proſecution of the war. He projected an incurſion into Kerry, a country over-run with the Iriſh, and which ſupplied their army with many neceſſaries. Great preparations were made for this expedition; and Shovel, now on the coaſt, was directed by the lords-juſtices to attend, with his fleet, the orders of Ginckle; but, on account of the broken roads, and dreary ſeaſon, the enterprize, in the end, was found impracticable [e].

The Iriſh, in the mean time, made ſeveral efforts to penetrate the Engliſh frontier. They particularly meditated an attack on the Engliſh garriſon of Mulingar; for which purpoſe they were now employed in fortifying Ballymore, a little town between this garriſon and Athlone. The garriſon was reinforced; Ginckle arrived at Mulingar, and led about two thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, againſt a conſiderable body of the enemy, encamped near

[e] Impartial Hiſtory.

Ballymore,

Ballymore. They drew up with an appearance of resolution. The pass which they occupied was defended by palisadoes; but the Irish, in their precipitation, pointed the palisadoes inwards, so as to favour the incursion, instead of restraining the enemy. They were quickly put to flight, and pursued to a place called the Moat of Grenoge, from which the skirmish took its name. Here they attempted to make a stand, but were driven into the town, which they also were obliged to abandon, and fled in consternation to Athlone. So great was the terror and confusion at this place, that the gates were shut against the fugitives, many of whom fled for shelter to the bogs, and many perished in the river.

This disaster greatly damped the spirits of the Irish, and increased the confusion now subsisting in their councils. Tyrconnel was returned from France, whither he had been sent to solicit succours, but could procure only the miserable pittance of eight thousand pounds, and some cloathing. The money was distributed as a donation among the soldiers, but proved insufficient to allay their discontents. Tyrconnel himself appeared gloomy and desponding; nor could the unprincipled obsequiousness with which he had endeavoured to secure the favour of his master, now save him from disgrace. James committed the administration of his civil affairs to sir Richard Nagle and sir Stephen Rice; and as Tyrconnel declared for moderate measures, and was for securing the remains of the nation by a submission, he was accused of treachery. The officers who declared for war reviled and insulted him; and continued to flatter both themselves and their followers with hopes of assistance from France. To favour these expectations, some French officers gradually arrived, and repeated the assurances of speedy succours. At length, A.D. 1691. Monsr. Saint-Ruth landed at Limerick with a commission of chief commander. Sarsfield was justly discontented; nor could the title of earl of Lucan, which he received from James, reconcile him to the indignity of being thus superseded. Saint-Ruth, resolving on a defensive war, ordered the towns on the Irish side of the Shannon to be strengthened, and with the main army took his station behind Athlone.

Reduction of fort Ballymore, and of Athlone.

Ginckle, being now supplied with some reinforcements, and other necessaries from England, determined to open the campaign by the siege of Athlone. The first operation was that of reducing fort Ballymore, which the enemy had occupied with a thousand of their best forces, who

who now ſurrendered as priſoners of war. This object being effected, the general advanced with a party of horſe within a few miles of Athlone, where, from an eminence, he ſurveyed the town and the ſituation of the Iriſh army, which lay encamped on a neck of land between two bogs, at the diſtance of two miles from the Shannon. Next day putting his army in motion, he marched through lanes lined with Iriſh infantry, who gradually retired before them to the Engliſh diſtrict of Athlone. The walls of the place being repaired, the enemy reſolved on a defence; but a battery of ten guns ſoon made a conſiderable breach, and orders were given for the aſſault. For ſome time the enemy defended the breach, until being driven to the bridge, lately repaired, they ran with ſuch confuſion into the Iriſh town, that many were cruſhed to death, and many plunging from the battlements into the river, were inſtantly drowned. But ſtill the aſſailants found new difficulties to encounter. The arch of the bridge neareſt to the Iriſh town was again broken. The enemy lay entrenched on the other ſide, and from their works fired furiouſly on the Engliſh diſtrict. The ford between the two towns was deep, narrow, and ſtony. At another place called Laneſborough, he formed a ſcheme for paſſing by a bridge of pontoons; but the enemy diſcovering his motion, defeated the purpoſe. Ginckle had now no means of forcing his way but by the bridge. Here, while his batteries and mortars continued to play inceſſantly, he carried on a wooden-work with the view of throwing planks over the broken arch. This deſign was almoſt completed, when a ſerjeant and ten men in armour ruſhed from the oppoſite ſide, and attempting to deſtroy their works, were all ſlain. Another party, however, unintimidated by this diſaſter, repeated the attack with more ſucceſs; they reſolutely caſt down the beams and planks into the river, and two ſurvivors returned in triumph to the town.

Ginckle, determined on the proſecution of the ſiege, made another effort to force a paſſage to the town, and carried on his works by a cloſe gallery on the broken arch, which was ſoon completed. Several breaches being now made in the walls and caſtle, it was reſolved in a council of war, to paſs the Shannon by three different ways. One party was appointed to force the bridge, another to croſs the ford below it, and a third to paſs by floats and pontoons about nine hundred feet farther. In the morning of the day appointed for this bold effort, and

when

when the army ſtood ready to be put in motion, the Iriſh were informed by deſerters of the intended enterprize, and their troops were ſeen marching in great numbers from their camp into the town. The beſiegers, however, ſtill perſevered; and to animate the ſoldiers in an attempt of ſo much danger, money was diſtributed among them. On each ſide all was now anxiety and agitation, when on a ſudden the enemy's grenades ſet fire to ſome faſcines on the broken arch; the flames quickly reached the gallery; the fire and ſmoke were blown into the face of the beſiegers with inſupportable violence; nor could they prevent the entire demolition of that part of their gallery which extended towards the enemy. The attack was now countermanded, and it was expected that the ſiege muſt be immediately raiſed, when Ginckle, without delay, convened another council, in which the plan of operations was warmly debated. To remain for any time in their preſent ſituation was impoſſible, as the forage was deſtroyed for ſeveral miles; to retire before an exulting army was not only diſpiriting, but might open the enemy a way to the very walls of Dublin: on the other hand, the conſequences of an unſucceſsful attack were evidently fatal. In this ſituation of affairs Ginckle ſeemed inclined to retire; but the duke of Wirtemberg, and other general officers, ſtrongly urged the proſecution of the enterprize. They repreſented, that the paſſage of the ford was not ſo dangerous as they had at firſt imagined, as three Daniſh criminals had ſucceſsfully tried it on a promiſe of their lives. Mackay, the Scottiſh general, alone, in the caution and poſitiveneſs of age, oppoſed the deſign, and from the beginning declared againſt attempting to paſs the river in the face of a town and an army. By the urgency, however, of Wirtemberg and others, who contended for the glory of the enterprize, it was finally reſolved to attempt the paſſage on the next morning. To encourage the Engliſh forces, they were aſſured by deſerters, that Saint-Ruth, in full confidence that the ſiege muſt be immediately raiſed, had detached three of his worſt regiments to man the works. In the rotation of duty, the command of the paſs devolved on Mackay; but Ginckle, unwilling to entruſt it to the officer who had declared againſt the attempt, conſigned it to Talmaſh. Mackay complaining of this indignity, the former modeſtly relinquiſhed his pretenſions, and entreated permiſſion to attend as a volunteer. That the enemy might not be alarmed by any extraordinary commotion in the camp, it was reſolved to make

make the attack at the uſual hour of relieving the guards. Two thouſand men were appointed for this ſervice; and, at the ſignal given, by tolling the church-bell, their advanced guard boldly entered the river, amidſt the acclamations of their companions. Mackay, their commander, waded by the ſide of his men. He was followed by la Melloniere, Tetteau, the prince of Heſſe, and other officers; while Talmaſh attended as volunteer, encouraging the men. Wirtemberg having his horſe ſhot under him, was conveyed through the river on the ſhoulders of his grenadiers. During the enterprize, the Engliſh, from their works and batteries, fired furiouſly upon the enemy, who returned the diſcharge with equal violence on thoſe who were paſſing the ford. The detachment, however, advanced intrepidly through fire and ſmoak, and gaining the oppoſite banks, mounted the breach next the river. Some flew to the aſſiſtance of their friends, who were laying planks over the broken bridge; others ran to ſupport the pontoons, while the Iriſh fled with aſtoniſhment to their camp, and not without conſiderable ſlaughter. Thus by a ſurpriſing effort of valour, the Engliſh gained poſſeſſion of the town.

On this occaſion Saint-Ruth betrayed a careleſſneſs and confidence unworthy of a commander. On receiving the firſt intelligence that the enemy were paſſing the ford, he exclaimed that it was impoſſible; that they could not preſume to attempt the town while he and his army lay ſo near. Sarsfield replied calmly, that he knew the enterprize was not too difficult for Engliſh courage, and preſſed him to ſend ſpeedy ſuccours. The Frenchman was offended: Sarsfield retorted his diſdain; when, in the midſt of the altercation, they were informed that the enemy were in the town. Saint-Ruth, diſſembling his vexation, proudly commanded that they ſhould be driven out again; and ſome fruitleſs efforts were made for this purpoſe; but the Engliſh now poſſeſſed the works oppoſite to his camp, and pointed againſt the enemy their own cannon. The caſtle of Athlone followed the fate of the town; the governor and five hundred men were made priſoners of war; and twelve hundred more of the enemy's numbers were either ſlain or made priſoners during the courſe of the ſiege.

Notwithſtanding theſe diſaſters, the ſpirit of the Iriſh was ſtill unconquered. Thoſe among them who inclined to the French intereſt, continued to be amuſed with expectations of powerful ſuccours, and were ſtill implicitly obedient

obedient to Saint-Ruth; while they who knew the power of the Engliſh government, had no proſpect of ſubſiſting but by ſome deſperate exertion of valour. They alſo who had eſpouſed the cauſe of James from principle, and who had taken arms for the freedom of their religion, or the recovery of what they called their property, were willing to maintain a war, which alone could afford any poſſibility of ſucceſs. Thus the whole Iriſh party, with different views, and from various motives, concurred in the reſolution of bringing their long-protracted conteſt to a final deciſion in the field.

Ginkle, on his part, had experienced the inconvenience of a war in an exhauſted country, precariouſly ſupplied from England, and was no leſs impatient for a ſpeedy deciſion. While employed in repairing the fortifications of Athlone, and before he advanced in ſearch of the enemy, it was deemed neceſſary to publiſh ſuch a proclamation and encouragement to thoſe who ſhould ſubmit, as might break the force of the enemy, and poſſibly prevent the neceſſity of an engagement. But the great Engliſh ſubjects of Ireland, who had always been deſirous that the rebels ſhould be exterminated rather than reconciled, laboured to defeat any accommodation with the Iriſh. Ginckle, however, was ſo impreſſed with the neceſſity of a proclamation of pardon, that on the 5th day of July he publiſhed one, which the juſtices, in deference to the privy-counſellors, ſeemed inclined to diſavow; but the propriety of the meaſure was ſo evident, and the occaſion ſo preſſing, that, in two days after, a proclamation was formally publiſhed by the government, offering a free pardon to all ſoldiers and officers who ſhould ſurrender within three weeks, with a reaſonable payment for their horſes, arms, and furniture; to all governors of garriſons who ſhould ſurrender their poſts; to all officers who ſhould bring with them their regiments, troops, or companies, a free pardon, and full poſſeſſion of their eſtates; liberal rewards to thoſe who had no landed property; and to all a free exerciſe of religion, with ſuch ſecurity in this particular, as an Iriſh parliament might deviſe. *A proclamation.*

This proclamation, however liberal, was publiſhed at too late a period to produce the deſired effect. Some of the Iriſh accepted the conditions; and even of the Rapparees, numbers laid down their arms; but the great body of Saint-Ruth's forces were, equally with their general, determined to make one deſperate effort. Ginckle, knowing

ing their reſolution, ſtrengthened his army by drawing off every detachment that could be ſpared from the Engliſh poſts [b].

The fate of Ireland was now ready to be decided, and the minds of all men were agitated with painful expectation of the event. On the 10th day of June, Ginckle marched from Athlone, and encamped along the river Sure, in the county of Roſcommon; while the Iriſh took their ſtation to greater advantage, about three miles farther to the ſouth-weſt. Their camp extended more than two miles along the heights of Kilcommeden, with a rivulet on their left running between hills and moraſſes, and theſe again ſkirted by a large bog, almoſt a mile in breadth. Along the front, about half a mile from their encampment, the bog extended to their right, where was another paſs, through a range of ſmall hills opening into wider ground. The ſlope of Kilcommeden, even to the edge of the bog, was interſected by hedges and ditches communicating with each other, and lined with Iriſh muſketeers. Ginckle, with eighteen thouſand men, was now to attack an enemy amounting to twenty-five thouſand, thus advantageouſly poſted Saint-Ruth, from his eminence, ſeeing the Engliſh croſs the river, and prepare to give him battle, drew out his main army in front of his camp. He rode to every ſquadron and battalion, animating them to the moſt vigorous exertion of their valour. The prieſts ran through the ranks, labouring to inſpire the ſame ſentiments; and, it is ſaid, obliged the ſoldiers to ſwear on the ſacrament, that they would not deſert their ſtandards.

Battle of Kilcommeden.

On the 12th day of July, at noon (the fogs of the morning having hitherto prevented them), the Engliſh army advanced in as good order as their uneven ground would admit. It was, in the firſt place, deemed neceſſary to gain the paſs on the right of the enemy; but a ſmall party of Danes ſent to force it, fled inſtantly at the appearance of an inferior body of the enemy. Some Engliſh dragoons were next employed, who, after an obſtinate conteſt of an hour, forced their way even beyond the bog. It was now debated, whether the battle ſhould not be deferred to the next morning; but the council, with difficulty, reſolved upon an immediate engagement. By the advice of general Mackay, it was determined to begin the attack

[b] Impartial Hiſtory.

on

on the enemy's right wing. About the hour of five in the afternoon, the left wing of the Engliſh advanced boldly againſt the enemy, who obſtinately maintained their poſts; defending their ditches until the muſquets of each ſide cloſed with the other; when, retiring by their lines of communication, they flanked their aſſailants, and charged them with double fury. The engagement was thus continued for an hour and a half, when Saint-Ruth found it neceſſary to draw a conſiderable part of the cavalry from his left to ſupport his right wing. Mackay ſeized the favourable moment, and, while the cavalry were in motion to gain the paſs by Aghrim caſtle, which ſtood on the ſide of the bog, ſeveral regiments of infantry in the centre were ordered to march through the moraſs, extending along their front, and to poſt themſelves on the loweſt ditches, until the horſe ſhould gain the paſſage, and wheel from the right to ſupport their charge. The infantry plunged into the bog, where they inſtantly ſunk to the middle; and no ſooner had they with difficulty gained the oppoſite ſide, than they received a furious fire from the hedges and trenches occupied by the enemy. They advanced, however, with intrepidity, the enemy, in the mean time, retiring to draw them forward; until, tranſported with ardour, and forgetting their orders, they purſued almoſt to the main battle of the Iriſh. Both horſe and foot now poured down upon them, both in front and flank, forced them from their ground with great ſlaughter, drove ſome of them back into the bog, and made ſeveral priſoners of note; while Saint-Ruth exclaimed in rapture, that he would now drive the Engliſh to the very walls of Dublin [c].

His attention, however, was ſoon diverted to the Engliſh cavalry on his left, commanded by Talmaſh, who, ſeeing the alarming diſorder of the center, puſhed with incredible ardour cloſe by the walls of the caſtle, through all the fire of the enemy, to the amazement of whom they forced their way through a narrow and dangerous path. Mackay, Talmaſh, and Rouvigny, now gradually preſſed forward from the right, bearing down all oppoſition. The infantry of the center rallied, advanced, and regained their former ground: the left wing fought with great valour, and was oppoſed with equal intrepidity. Saint-Ruth, now finding it indiſpenſable to make an impreſſion on the enemy's cavalry in their rapid progreſs

[c] Secret Conſults.

from

from the right, rode down from his ſtation on the hill of Kilcommeden, and, having directed one of his batteries where to point their fire, led a body of horſe againſt them. While he was conducting this enterprize, a cannon-ball deprived him of life. The intelligence of this event ran quickly through the lines; his cavalry halted, and, being now without their commander, returned towards their former ſtation. The whole Iriſh army was diſmayed. Sarsfield, on whom the command devolved, had been neglected by Saint-Ruth ever ſince their altercation at Athlone; and, as the order of battle had not been communicated to him, he could not ſupport the diſpoſitions of the late general. The Engliſh, in the mean time, preſſed forwards, and drove the enemy to their camp; whence the latter, being ſtill purſued, fled precipitately, the foot to a bog, and the horſe towards Loughrea.

In this battle, and in a bloody purſuit of three miles, ſeven thouſand of the Iriſh army were ſlain; while, on the ſide of the conquerors, only ſeven hundred fell, and about a thouſand were wounded.

Ginckle, after refreſhing his troops a few days, led them through a deſolated country to Galway, which he deemed neceſſary to be reduced, before he ſhould attempt Limerick, the great and final refuge of the Iriſh. The garriſon of Galway conſiſted of ſeven weak regiments; but they expected conſiderable reinforcements. After their hopes, however, had been fruſtrated, the townſmen and magiſtrates declared warmly for ſurrendering; and though they were at firſt impriſoned for their preſumption, yet the garriſon ſoon adopted the ſame ſentiments. A treaty of capitulation accordingly commenced; the garriſon was allowed to march out with all the honours of war; and a free pardon was granted to the inhabitants, with full poſſeſſion of their eſtates and liberties under the acts of ſettlement and explanation. The Romiſh clergy and laity were allowed the private exerciſe of their religion, their lawyers permitted to practiſe, and ſuch Catholics as had eſtates to bear arms. This moderation was productive of good effects. Several conſiderable parties daily revolted from the Iriſh, and were either entertained in the army on taking the oaths of fidelity to the king and queen, or diſmiſſed peaceably to their habitations, at their own option [d].

Surrender of Galway.

[d] Secret Conſults.

Not-

Notwithstanding the capitulation of Galway was considered by many as an event immediately to be followed by the final reduction of Ireland; yet the Irish, under the command of Sarsfield, spoke with confidence of meeting the enemy, and once more trying their fortune in the field. Ginckle in the meantime, proceeded cautiously; and, as the time limited for the submission of the Irish was expired, he enlarged the term by a new declaration, promising pardon and protection to all who should accept of the indulgence offered by the government. Limerick, to which he now approached, was, notwithstanding the apparent resolution of the garrison, a scene of discord and jealousy. The French and Irish parties, those who were for fighting to the last, and those who wished to save the remains of their country by submitting, all contended with an acrimony increased by their misfortunes. Tyrconnel, who had during some time declared for moderate counsels, expired in the bitterness of vexation. Three new lords-justices, Fitton, Nagle, and Plowden, now assumed the government in the name of the abdicated king, and declared for submission; but Sarsfield, being brave, violent, and enterprising, was averse to all accommodation. The French generals expected succours from abroad, and declared for war. Some of the Irish officers had already engaged in a private correspondence with the English, and were solicitous to secure their own particular interests; while others, actuated by more generous sentiments, declined any composition which should not include the whole party of Irish Catholics. *Distracted state of Limerick.*

In the mean time Ginckle strengthened his army by withdrawing every garrison that could be spared; he secured the passes of the Shannon; some Irish garrisons, which threatened to interrupt the communication between the camp and Kerry, were reduced; and his artillery was brought up under a strong escort, with every possible precaution. On the 25th day of August he advanced to the town, his approaches to which were made in the same manner as in the former siege. Perceiving that the only effectual means of reducing the town was to invest it on all parts, he resolved to gain, if possible, the opposite side of the river; and, to conceal the design, gave such orders as indicated a purpose of raising the siege. The Irish saw with exultation his batteries dismounted, and, lulled in security, never suspected any danger, until a bridge of tin boats was almost completed in the night. *Siege of Limerick.*

A conſiderable body of forces was thus conveyed into an iſland, between which and the main land the river was fordable. Near this paſſage was poſted four regiments of Iriſh dragoons, commanded by an officer of the name of Clifford, who was of the number of thoſe who contended for a timely ſubmiſſion, and not diſpleaſed that the garriſon ſhould be ſo preſſed as to force them into ſuch a meaſure. To theſe ſentiments it is imputed, that he ſuffered the Engliſh troops to paſs over, almoſt without the ſhow of any reſiſtance. Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, it was debated whether the ſiege ſhould be carried on, or converted into a blockade; ſo great were the difficulties which ſtill remained of reducing the town. In this ſituation Ginckle, who probably held a ſecret intelligence with ſome officers of the garriſon, and hoped to prevent the effuſion of blood by offers of grace, iſſued a declaration, promiſing pardon, and the reſtitution of their eſtates, to thoſe of the garriſon and inhabitants of Limerick, who ſhould ſubmit within eight days from that time. This declaration not being attended by any immediate effects, Ginckle was under difficulties how to proceed. It was dangerous for the beſiegers either to continue in the preſent ſtation on the approach of winter, or to divide an army ſufficient only for aſſailing the town on one ſide. At length, however, it was reſolved to lead another body of troops acroſs the river. On the 22d day of September, Ginckle, with a conſiderable body of cavalry and infantry, animated with the intelligence of the reduction of Sligo by the earl of Granard, marched over the bridge of boats. Their advanced guards were at firſt repulſed, but in the end repelled the enemy. The genadiers, ſupported by four regiments, were ordered to aſſault the works which covered Thomond bridge, Here the conteſt was for ſome time deſperately maintained, until, at length, the Engliſh, by the moſt obſtinate efforts of valour, broke, routed, and purſued the enemy. A French major, who commanded at Thomond-bridge, fearing the grenadiers would cloſe with his own party, ordered the draw-bridge to be raiſed, and thus left the fugitives to the mercy of their purſuers. Before the carnage could be ſtopped, ſix hundred lay dead on the bridge, which their bodies filled up even to the battlements; about a hundred and fifty were forced into the river and periſhed; and one hundred and twenty-ſix officers and ſoldiers were made priſoners,

with an inconsiderable loss on the part of the assailants [e].

On the 23d of September, after the garrison had for many hours fired from their batteries with unusual fury, they at length beat a parley. The besiegers granted a truce, which continued for three days, to give time for the horse, now encamped at some distance, to take advantage of the projected capitulation. On the last day of the truce the Irish leaders proposed the terms on which they offered to capitulate. They required an act of indemnity for all past offences, with full enjoyment of the estates they had formerly possessed; beside freedom for the Roman catholic worship, and an establishment of one Romish ecclesiastic in each parish. They demanded, that Roman Catholics should be declared fully qualified for every office civil and military; that they should be admitted into all corporations; and that the Irish army should be kept up, and paid in the same manner with the king's other troops, if they should be willing to serve. Ginckle replied, that such demands were inconsistent not only with the laws of England, but his own honour; and gave orders for new batteries, as if resolved to continue the siege. By a second deputation, he was desired to propose such terms on his part as he could grant. He consented that all Irish Roman Catholics should enjoy the exercise of their religion, as in the reign of Charles II. and promised that their majesties would endeavour to procure them farther security in this particular, when a parliament could be convened. He engaged, that all included in the capitulation should enjoy their estates, and pursue their employments freely, as in the reign of the same king Charles; that their gentry should be allowed the use of arms, and that no oath should be required of any except that of allegiance. The garrison readily accepted these concessions as the basis of a treaty. On the 1st day of October the lords-justices arrived in the camp. On the 3d the capitulation was adjusted and signed; the civil articles by the chief governors, Porter and Coningsby, and the military by the general. *Limerick capitulates.*

Thus ended a war which had involved the whole kingdom in great calamity. Since this period Ireland has known no other disturbance than what has occasionally arisen from the depredations of lawless banditti, who have always, in the end, been reduced to obedience,

[e] Memoirs of Ireland.

either by the civil or military power. Henceforth the Iriſh hiſtory records only a ſucceſſion of governors, whoſe adminiſtrations have differed from each other only in reſpect of popularity. The ſupreme juriſdiction of the country had long been aſſerted by the Britiſh parliament, which impoſed many reſtrictions on its commerce; but, by the liberality of this legiſlature, thoſe ſeveral acts have lately been repealed, and Ireland now begins to enjoy a degree of proſperity which ſhe never before had experienced.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

The Civil and Military Articles of Limerick, exactly printed from the Letters Patents; wherein they are ratified and exemplified by their Majesties, under the Great Seal of England.

GULIELMUS et Maria Dei gratia, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, rex et regina, fidei defensores, &c. Omnibus ad quos presentes literæ nostræ pervenerint, salutem: inspeximus irrotulament. quarund. literarum patentium de confirmatione geren. dat. apud Westmonasterium vicesimo quarto die Februarii, ultimi præteriti in cancellar. nostr. irrotulat. ac ibidem de recordo remanen. in hæc verba. William and Mary, by the grace of God, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Whereas certain articles, bearing date the 3d day of October last past, made and agreed on between our justices of our kingdom of Ireland, and our general of our forces there, on the one part; and several officers there, commanding within the city of Limerick, in our said kingdom, on the other part: whereby our said justices and general did undertake that we should ratify those articles, within the space of eight months, or sooner; and use their utmost endeavours that the same should be ratified and confirmed in parliament. The tenour of which said articles is as follows, viz.

Articles agreed upon the 3d Day of October, 1691.

Between the Right Honourable Sir Charles Porter, Knight, and Thomas Conningsby, Esq. Lords Justices of Ireland; and his Excellency the Baron De Ginckle, Lieutenant-general, and Commander in chief of the English army; on the one part:

And the Right Honourable Patrick Earl of Lucan, Piercy Viſcount Gallmoy, Colonel Nicholas Purcel, Colonel Nicholas Cuſack, Sir Toby Butler, Colonel Garret Dillon, and Colonel John Brown, on the other part:

In the Behalf of the Iriſh Inhabitants in the City and County of Limerick, the Counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo:

In Conſideration of the Surrender of the City of Limerick, and other Agreements made between the ſaid Lieutenant-general Ginckle, the Governor of the City of Limerick, and the Generals of the Iriſh Army, bearing date with theſe Preſents, for the Surrender of the ſaid City, and Submiſſion of the ſaid Army: it is agreed, That,

I. THE Roman Catholics of this kingdom ſhall enjoy ſuch privileges in the exerciſe of their religion, as are conſiſtent with the laws of Ireland; or as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles the Second: and their majeſties, as ſoon as their affairs will permit them to ſummon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the ſaid Roman Catholics ſuch farther ſecurity in that particular, as may preſerve them from any diſturbance upon the account of their ſaid religion.

II. All the inhabitants or reſidents of Limerick, or any other garriſon now in the poſſeſſion of the Iriſh, and all officers and ſoldiers now in arms under any commiſſion of king James, or thoſe authoriſed by him to grant the ſame, in the ſeveral counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them; and all the commiſſioned officers in their majeſties quarters, that belong to the Iriſh regiments, now in being, that are treated with, and who are not priſoners of war, or have taken protection, and who ſhall return and ſubmit to their majeſties obedience; and their and every of their heirs, ſhall hold, poſſeſs, and enjoy, all and every their eſtates of freehold and inheritance; and all the rights, titles, and intereſts, privileges, and immunities, which they, and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully intitled to, in the reign of king Charles II. or at any time ſince, by the laws and ſtatutes that were in force in the ſaid reign of king Charles II. and ſhall be put in poſſeſſion, by order of the government, of ſuch of them as are in the king's hands, or the hands of his tenants, without being put to any ſuit or trouble therein; and all ſuch eſtates ſhall be freed and diſcharged from all arrears of crown-rents,

rents, quit-rents, and other public charges, incurred and become due ſince Michaelmas 1688, to the day of the date hereof: and all perſons comprehended in this article, ſhall have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattles, real and perſonal, to them, or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own hands, or the hands of any perſons whatſoever, in truſt for, or for the uſe of them, or any of them: and all and every the ſaid perſons, of what profeſſion, trade, or calling ſoever they be, ſhall and may uſe, exerciſe, and practiſe their ſeveral and reſpective profeſſions, trades, and callings, as freely as they did uſe, exerciſe, and enjoy the ſame in the reign of king Charles II. provided that nothing in this article contained be conſtrued to extend to, or reſtore any forfeiting perſon now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter compriſed: provided alſo, that no perſon whatſoever ſhall have or enjoy the benefit of this article, that ſhall neglect or refuſe to take the oath of allegiance, made by act of parliament in England, in the firſt year of the reign of their preſent majeſties when thereunto required.

III. All merchants, or reputed merchants of the city of Limerick, or of any other garriſon now poſſeſſed by the Iriſh, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare or Kerry, who are abſent beyond the ſeas, that have not bore arms ſince their majeſties declaration in February, 1688, ſhall have the benefit of the ſecond article, in the ſame manner as if they were preſent; provided ſuch merchants, and reputed merchants, do repair into this kingdom within the ſpace of eight months from the date hereof.

IV. The following officers, viz. colonel Simon Lutterel, captain Rowland White, Maurice Euſtace of Yermanſtown, Chievers of Mayſtown, commonly called Mount Leinſter, now belonging to the regiments in the aforeſaid garriſons and quarters of the Iriſh army, who were beyond the ſeas, and ſent thither upon affairs of their reſpective regiments, or the army in general, ſhall have the benefit and advantage of the ſecond article, provided they return hither within the ſpace of eight months from the date of theſe preſents, and ſubmit to their majeſties government, and take the above mentioned oath.

V. That all and ſingular the ſaid perſons compriſed in the ſecond and third articles, ſhall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treaſons, miſpriſons of treaſon, premunires, felonies, treſpaſſes, and other

crimes and misdemeanours whatsoever, by them, or any of them, committed since the beginning of the reign of king James II. and if any of them are attainted by parliament, the lords-justices, and general, will use their best endeavours to get the same repealed by parliament, and the outlawries to be reversed gratis, all but writing-clerks fees.

VI. And whereas these present wars have drawn on great violences on both parts; and that if leave were given to the bringing all sorts of private actions, the animosities would probably continue, that have been too long on foot, and the public disturbances last: for the quieting and settling, therefore, of this kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniencies which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no person or persons whatsoever, comprised in the foregoing articles, shall be sued, molested, or impleaded at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever, for any trespasses by them committed, or for any arms, horses, money, goods, chattles, merchandizes, or provisions whatsoever, by them seized or taken during the time of the war. And no person or persons whatsoever, in the second or third articles comprised, shall be sued, impleaded, or made accountable for the rents or mean rates of any lands, tenements, or houses, by him or them received, or enjoyed in this kingdom, since the beginning of the present war, to the day of the date hereof, nor for any waste or trespass by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements, or houses: and it is also agreed, that this article shall be mutual and reciprocal on both sides.

VII. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in the said second and third article shall have liberty to ride with a sword, and case of pistols, if they think fit; and keep a gun in their houses, for the defence of the same, or for fowling.

VIII. The inhabitants and residents in the city of Limerick, and other garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattles, and provisions, out of the same, without being viewed and searched, or paying any manner of duties; and shall not be compelled to leave the houses or lodgings they now have, for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

IX. The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their majesties government, shall be the oath above said, and no other.

X. No

X. No perſon or perſons who ſhall at any time hereafter break theſe articles, or any of them, ſhall thereby make, or cauſe any other perſon or perſons to forfeit or loſe the benefit of the ſame.

XI. The lords-juſtices and general do promiſe to uſe their utmoſt endeavours, that all the perſons comprehended in the above mentioned articles, ſhall be protected and defended from all arreſts and executions for debt or damage, for the ſpace of eight months next enſuing the date hereof.

XII. Laſtly, the lords-juſtices and general do undertake, that their majeſties will ratify theſe articles within the ſpace of eight months, or ſooner, and uſe their utmoſt endeavours that the ſame ſhall be ratified and confirmed in parliament.

XIII. And whereas colonel John Brown ſtood indebted to ſeveral Proteſtants, by judgments of record, which appearing to the late government, the lord Tyrconnel, and lord Lucan, took away the effects the ſaid John Brown had to anſwer the ſaid debts, and promiſed to clear the ſaid John Brown of the ſaid debts; which effects were taken for the public uſe of the Iriſh, and their army: for freeing the ſaid lord Lucan of his ſaid engagement, paſt on their public account, for payment of the ſaid Proteſtants, and for preventing the ruin of the ſaid John Brown, and for ſatisfaction of his creditors, at the inſtance of the lord Lucan, and the reſt of the perſons aforeſaid, it is agreed, that the ſaid lords-juſtices, and the ſaid baron de Ginckle, ſhall interceed with the king and parliament, to have the eſtates ſecured to Roman Catholics, by articles and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the payment of ſo much of the ſaid debts, as the ſaid lord Lucan, upon ſtating accompts with the ſaid John Brown, ſhall certify under his hand, that the effects taken from the ſaid Brown amount unto; which accompt is to be ſtated, snd the balance certified by the ſaid lord Lucan in one and twenty days after the date hereof.

For the true performance hereof, we have hereunto ſet our hands,

Preſent,
SCRAVEMORE.
H. MACCAY.
T. TALMASH.

CHAR. PORTER,
THO. CONINGSBY.
Bar. DE GINCLE.

And

And whereas the ſaid city of Limerick hath been ſince, in purſuance of the ſaid articles, ſurrendered unto us. Now know ye, that we having conſidered of the ſaid articles, are graciouſly pleaſed hereby to declare, that we do for us, our heirs, and ſucceſſors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the ſame, and every clauſe, matter, and thing therein contained. And as to ſuch parts thereof, for which an act of parliament ſhall be found to be neceſſary, we ſhall recommend the ſame to be made good by parliament, and ſhall give our royal aſſent to any bill or bills that ſhall be paſſed by our two houſes of parliament to that purpoſe. And whereas it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to the ſaid articles, that after the words Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the ſecond of the ſaid articles, the words following, viz. "And all ſuch as are under their protection in the ſaid counties," ſhould be inſerted, and be part of the ſaid articles. Which words having been caſually omitted by the writer, the omiſſion was not diſcovered till after the ſaid articles were ſigned, but was taken notice of before the ſecond town was ſurrendered: and that our ſaid juſtices, and general, or one of them, did promiſe that the ſaid clauſe ſhould be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation, and inſerted in the foul draught thereof. Our farther will and pleaſure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the ſaid omitted words, viz. "And all ſuch as are under their protection in the ſaid counties," hereby for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, ordaining and declaring, that all and every perſon and perſons therein concerned, ſhall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereof, in ſuch and the ſame manner as if the ſaid words had been inſerted in the proper place, in the ſaid ſecond article; any omiſſion, defect, or miſtake in the ſaid ſecond article, in any wiſe notwithſtanding. Provided always, and our will and pleaſure is, that theſe our letters-patents ſhall be enrolled in our court of chancery in our ſaid kingdom of Ireland, within the ſpace of one year next enſuing. In witneſs, &c. witneſs our ſelf at Weſtminſter, the twenty-fourth day of February, anno regni regis & reginæ Gulielmi & Mariæ quarto, per breve de privato ſigillo. Nos autem tenorem premiſſor. predict. Ad requiſitionem attornat. general. domini regis & dominæ reginæ pro regno Hiberniæ. Duximus exemplificand. per preſentes. In cujus rei teſtimonium has literas

literas noſtras fieri fecimus patentes. Teſtibus nobis ipſis apud Weſtmon. quinto die Aprilis adnoq. regni eorum quarto.

BRIDGES.

Examinat. per nos { S. KECK. LACON WM. CHILDE. } In Cancel. Magiſtros.

Military Articles agreed upon between the Baron de Ginckle, Lieutenant-general, and Commander in Chief of the Engliſh Army on the one ſide,

And the Lieutenant-generals de Uſſoon and de Teſſe, Commanders in Chief of the Iriſh Army, on the other; and the General Officers hereunto ſubſcribing.

I. THAT all perſons, without any exceptions, of what quality or condition ſoever, that are willing to leave the kingdom of Ireland, ſhall have free liberty to go to any country beyond the ſeas (England and Scotland excepted) where they think fit, with their families, houſhold-ſtuff, plate, and jewels.

II. That all general officers, colonels, and generally all other officers of horſe, dragoons, and foot-guards, troopers, dragooners, ſoldiers of all kinds that are in any garriſon place, or poſt, now in the hands of the Iriſh, or encamped in the counties of Cork, Clare, and Kerry, as alſo thoſe called Rapparees, or volunteers, that are willing to go beyond ſeas as aforeſaid, ſhall have free leave to embark themſelves wherever the ſhips are that are appointed to tranſport them, and to come in whole bodies as they are now compoſed, or in parties, companies, or otherwiſe, without having any impediment, directly or indirectly.

III. That all perſons above mentioned, that are willing to leave Ireland and go into France, ſhall have leave to declare it at the times and places hereafter mentioned, viz. the troops in Limerick, on Tueſday next in Limerick; the horſe, at their camp on Wedneſday; and the other forces that are diſperſed in the counties of Clare, Kerry, and Cork, on the 8th inſtant, and on none other, before monſieur Tameron, the French intendant, and colonel Withers; and after ſuch declaration is made, the troops that will go into France muſt remain under the command and diſcipline of their officers that are to conduct them thither:

thither: and deſerters of each ſide ſhall be given up, and puniſhed accordingly.

IV. That all Engliſh and Scotch officers that ſerve now in Ireland, ſhall be included in this capitulation, as well for the ſecurity of their eſtates and goods in England, Scotland, and Ireland (if they are willing to remain here), as for paſſing freely into France, or any other country to ſerve.

V. That all the general French officers, the intendant, the engineers, the commiſſaries at war, and of the artillery, the treaſurer, and other French officers, ſtrangers, and all others whatſoever, that are in Sligo, Roſs, Clare, or in the army, or that do trade or commerce, or are otherways employed in any kind of ſtation or condition, ſhall have free leave to paſs into France, or any other country, and ſhall have leave to ſhip themſelves, with all their horſes, equipage, plate, papers, and all their effects whatever; and that general Ginckle will order paſſports for them, convoys, and carriages by land and water, to carry them ſafe from Limerick to the ſhips where they ſhall be embarked, without paying any thing for the ſaid carriages, or to thoſe that are employed therein, with their horſes, cars, boats, and ſhallops.

VI. That if any of the aforeſaid equipages, merchandize, horſes, money, plate, or other moveables, or houſehold-ſtuff belonging to the ſaid Iriſh troops, or to the French officers, or other particular perſons whatſoever, be robbed, deſtroyed, or taken away by the troops of the ſaid general, the ſaid general will order it to be reſtored, or payment to be made according to the value that is given in upon oath by the perſon ſo robbed or plundered: and the ſaid Iriſh troops to be tranſported as aforeſaid; and all other perſons belonging to them, are to obſerve good order in their march and quarters, and ſhall reſtore whatever they ſhall take from the country, or make reſtitution for the ſame.

VII. That to facilitate the tranſporting the ſaid troops, the general will furniſh fifty ſhips, each ſhip's burthen two hundred tons; for which, the perſons to be tranſported ſhall not be obliged to pay, and twenty more, if there ſhall be occaſion, without their paying for them; and if any of the ſaid ſhips ſhall be of leſſer burthen, he will furniſh more in number to countervail; and alſo give two men of war to embark the principal officers, and ſerve for a convoy to the veſſels of burthen.

VIII. That

VIII. That a commiſſary ſhall be immediately ſent to Cork to viſit the tranſport ſhips, and what condition they are in for ſailing; and that, as ſoon as they are ready, the troops to be tranſported ſhall march with all convenient ſpeed, the neareſt way, in order to embark there: and if there ſhall be any more men to be tranſported than can be carried off in the ſaid fifty ſhips, the reſt ſhall quit the Engliſh town of Limerick, and march to ſuch quarters as ſhall be appointed for them, convenient for their tranſportation, where they ſhall remain till the other twenty ſhips be ready, which are to be in a month; and may embark on any French ſhip that may come in the mean time.

IX. That the ſaid ſhips ſhall be furniſhed with forage for horſe, and all neceſſary proviſions to ſubſiſt the officers, troops, dragoons, and ſoldiers, and all other perſons that are ſhipped to be tranſported into France; which proviſions ſhall be paid for as ſoon as all are diſembarked at Breſt or Nants, upon the coaſt of Brittany, or any other port of France they can make.

X. And to ſecure the return of the ſaid ſhips (the danger of the ſeas excepted) and payment for the ſaid proviſions, ſufficient hoſtages ſhall be given.

XI. That the garriſons of Clare caſtle, Roſs, and all other foot that are in garriſons in the counties of Clare, Cork, and Kerry, ſhall have the advantage of this preſent capitulation; and ſuch part of thoſe garriſons as deſign to go beyond ſeas, ſhall march out with their arms, baggage, drums beating, ball in mouth, match lighted at both ends, and colours flying, with all the proviſions, and half the ammunition that is in the ſaid garriſons; and join the horſe that march to be tranſported; or if then there is not ſhipping enough for the body of foot that is to be next tranſported after the horſe, general Ginckle will order that they be furniſhed with carriages for that purpoſe, and what proviſions they ſhall want in their march, they paying for the ſaid proviſions, or elſe that they may take it out of their own magazines.

XII. That all the troops of horſe and dragoons that are in the counties of Cork, Kerry, and Clare, ſhall alſo have the benefit of this capitulation; and that ſuch as will paſs into France, ſhall have quarters given them in the counties of Clare and Kerry, apart from the troops that are commanded by general Ginckle, until they can be ſhipped; and within their quarters they ſhall pay for every thing, except forage and paſture for their horſes, which ſhall be furniſhed gratis.

XIII. Thoſe

XIII. Thoſe of the garriſon of Sligo that are joined to the Iriſh army, ſhall have the benefit of this capitulation; and orders ſhall be ſent to them that are to convey them up, to bring them hither to Limerick the ſhorteſt way.

XIV. The Iriſh may have liberty to tranſport nine hundred horſe, including horſes for the officers, which ſhall be tranſported gratis: and as for the troopers that ſtay behind, they ſhall diſpoſe of themſelves as they ſhall think fit, giving up their horſes and arms to ſuch perſons as the general ſhall appoint.

XV. It ſhall be permitted to thoſe that are appointed to take care for the ſubſiſtence of the horſe, that are willing to go into France, to buy hay and corn at the king's rates wherever they can find it, in the quarters that are aſſigned for them, without any let or moleſtation, and to carry all neceſſary proviſions out of the city of Limerick; and for this purpoſe the general will furniſh convenient carriages for them to the places where they ſhall be embarked.

XVI. It ſhall be lawful to make uſe of the hay preſerved in the ſtores of the county of Kerry, for the horſes that ſhall be embarked; and if there be not enough, it ſhall be lawful to buy hay and oats wherever it ſhall be found, at the king's rates.

XVII. That all priſoners of war that were in Ireland the 28th of September, ſhall be ſet at liberty on both ſides; and the general promiſes to uſe his endeavours, that thoſe that are in England and Flanders ſhall be ſet at liberty alſo.

XVIII. The general will cauſe proviſions and medicines to be furniſhed to the ſick and wounded officers, troopers, dragoons, and ſoldiers, of the Iriſh army that cannot paſs into France at the firſt embarkment; and after they are cured, will order them ſhips to paſs into France, if they are willing to go.

XIX. That, at the ſigning hereof, the general will ſend a ſhip expreſs to France; and that beſides, he will furniſh two ſmall ſhips of thoſe that are now in the river of Limerick, to tranſport two perſons into France that are to be ſent to give notice of this treaty; and that the commanders of the ſaid ſhips ſhall have orders to put aſhore at the next port of France where they ſhall make.

XX. That all thoſe of the ſaid troops, officers, and others, of what character ſoever, that would paſs into France, ſhall not be ſtopped upon the account of debt, or any other pretext.

XXI. If

XXI. If after ſigning this preſent treaty, and before the arrival of the fleet, a French packet-boat, or other tranſport-ſhip, ſhall arrive from France in any other part of Ireland, the general will order a paſſport, not only for ſuch as muſt go on board the ſaid ſhips, but to the ſhips to come to the neareſt port, to the place where the troops to be tranſported ſhall be quartered.

XXII. That after the arrival of the ſaid fleet, there ſhall be free communication and paſſage between it and the quarters of the abovéſaid troops; and eſpecially, for all thoſe that have paſſes from the chief commanders of the ſaid fleet, or from monſieur Tameron, the intendant.

XXIII. In conſideration of the preſent capitulation, the two towns of Limerick ſhall be delivered and put into the hands of the general, or any other perſon he ſhall appoint, at the time and days hereafter ſpecified, viz. the Iriſh town, except the magazines and hoſpital, on the day of the ſigning of theſe preſent articles; and as for the Engliſh town, it ſhall remain, together with the iſland, and the free paſſage of Thomond-bridge, in the hands of thoſe of the Iriſh army that are now in the garriſon, or that ſhall hereafter come from the counties of Cork, Clare, Kerry, Sligo, and other places above mentioned, until there ſhall be convenience found for their tranſportation.

XXIV. And to prevent all diſorders that may happen between the garriſon that the general ſhall place in the Iriſh-town, which ſhall be delivered to him, and the Iriſh troopers that ſhall remain in the Engliſh-town and the iſland, which they may do until the troops to be embarked on the firſt fifty ſhips ſhall be gone for France, and no longer; they ſhall intrench themſelves on both ſides, to hinder the communication of the ſaid garriſons: and it ſhall be prohibited on both ſides, to offer any thing that is offenſive; and the parties offending ſhall be puniſhed on either ſide.

XXV. That it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid garriſon to march out all at once, or at different times, as they can be embarked, with arms, baggage, drums beating, match lighted at both ends, bullet in mouth, colours flying, ſix braſs guns, ſuch as the beſieged will chuſe, two mortar-pieces, and half the ammunition that is now in the magazines of the ſaid place: and for this purpoſe, an inventory of all the ammunition in the garriſon ſhall be made in the preſence of any perſon that the general ſhall appoint, the next day after theſe preſent articles ſhall be ſigned.

XXVI. All

XXVI. All the magazines of provisions shall remain in the hands of those that are now employed to take care of the same, for the subsistence of those of the Irish army that will pass into France: and if there shall not be sufficient in the stores, for the support of the said troops, whilst they stay in this kingdom, and are crossing the seas, that, upon giving up an account of their numbers, the general will furnish them with sufficient provisions at the king's rates; and that there shall be a free market at Limerick, and other quarters, where the said troops shall be; and in case any provision shall remain in the magazines of Limerick when the town shall be given up, it shall be valued, and the price deducted out of what is to be paid for the provisions to be furnished to the troops on ship-board.

XXVII. That there shall be a cessation of arms at land, as also at sea, with respect to the ships, whether English, Dutch, or French, designed for the transportation of the said troops, until they shall be returned to their respective harbours; and that on both sides, they shall be furnished with sufficient passports both for ships and men: and if any sea commander, or captain of a ship, or any officer, trooper, dragoon, soldier, or any other person, shall act contrary to this cessation, the persons so acting, shall be punished on either side, and satisfaction shall be made for the wrong that is done; and officers shall be sent to the mouth of the river of Limerick, to give notice to the commanders of the English and French fleets of the present conjuncture, that they may observe the cessation of arms accordingly.

XXVIII. That for the security of the execution of this present capitulation, and of each article therein contained, the besieged shall give the following hostages —— And the general shall give ——.

XXIX. If before this capitulation is fully executed, there happens any change in the government, or command of the army, which is now commanded by general Ginckle; all those that shall be appointed to command the same, shall be obliged to observe and execute what is specified in these articles, or cause it to be executed punctually, and shall not act contrary on any account.

Octob. 91.

Baron DE GINCKLE.

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